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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE PENTATEUCH:

AN INQUIRY, CRITICAL AND DOCTRINAL, INTO THE GENUINENESS,
AUTHORITY, AND DESIGN OF THE MOSAIC WRITINGS.

BY THE

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VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS & CO. DUBLIN: JOHN ROBERTSON.

MDCCCLXI.

INTRODUCTION

THE FIRST ATTEMPT

A HISTORY OF THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO
ESTABLISH A COLONY IN THE WEST INDIES

BY

JAMES OGLETHORPE

OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH

AND

THE CITY OF GEORGIA

IN A LETTER TO THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF TRADE

LONDON

PREFACE.

It is remarked by Mr. Litton, in his recent Bampton Lecture, that "Studies which have for their object the elucidation of Scripture, in any of its leading divisions, seem to be, under present circumstances, peculiarly appropriate."

This is a statement which will be endorsed by all who have given attention to the Theological literature of recent years, and have noticed, with grief or alarm, that the tendency of many of these productions, whatever may have been their design, is manifestly to discredit the Records of Revelation, more particularly the Hebrew Scriptures.

It was partly a conviction of this kind which induced the Author to investigate the claims and character of the Pentateuch, which, more than any other portion of Scripture, has been assailed by all manner of weapons, and even by men, and that, too, in 'Protestant England,' who, by their office, have been 'set for the defence of the Gospel.' There was a higher consideration, however, than any merely polemical object, which recommended this subject, and which, in any circumstances, renders the critical study of the Pentateuch a matter of the highest importance. This is the necessity of correct views of the character and design of the Mosaic law as bearing on the Gospel itself, and to misapprehension of which is, doubtless, owing not a little of the opposition just referred to, as well as other portions antagonistic of Scriptural doctrine.

Of the plan adopted in the present work a sufficiently full account is given in the preliminary chapter. First, the critico-historical argument is applied, to establish the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, in an examination of its Unity, Antiquity, and Authorship. This is succeeded by a vindication of its Authenticity and Divine Authority. As this, however, can be more conclusively argued from the internal evidence contained in

the work itself, and the adaptation between the means and the purposes therein contemplated, special attention has been devoted to an inquiry into the Theology of the Pentateuch, or its design as a Revelation of God, and the basis of a national constitution and polity, fitted to carry out the purposes indicated from the very commencement of the Mosaic writings, and completed in the New Testament. To this argument, derived from what may be termed the *Genesis of Revelation*, the Author himself would attach importance ; and to which due attention, he conceives, has not been given in treatises of this kind, or, indeed, in connexion with the study of Biblical Theology, on which it is fitted to shed a most powerful light wherein to contemplate the harmonious development of the Divine plan revealed in creation and redemption.

Few matters of consequence have, it is believed, been overlooked ; and wherever the limits prevented a more complete examination of any particular topic, reference has been made to the most recent or authoritative sources of information. In every case, indeed, considerable attention has been given to the literature of the subject,—a feature of the work which, it is trusted, will add to its utility, and conduce to the ends which the Author aimed at, but to which he is conscious he has but imperfectly attained, in thus attempting to vindicate or expound God's earliest dealings with, and communications to, man.

EDINKILLIE, January 22, 1861.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

- Page 34, line 14, for *seem* read *seems*.
 ... 44, ... 10, close the parenthesis after *wilderness*.
 ... 54, ... 11, for הוֹמִשִּׁין read הוֹמִשִּׁין.
 12, for πέντ᾽ αὐχός read πέντ᾽αὐχός.
 ... 144, ... 6, for *news* read *views*.
 ... 207, ... 7, after *statement* insert *of*.
 ... 243, ... 19, for *that* read *than*.
 ... 436, ... 30, for *is* read *it*.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE PENTATEUCH.

BOOK FIRST.

THE SUBJECT OF INQUIRY AND THE MODE OF CONDUCTING IT.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

THE object of the following treatise is an inquiry, with the aid of the latest critical and historical results, into the genuineness and authority of that very important portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, the authorship of which is ascribed to Moses, and with special reference to its character and design as a professed revelation of God and the foundation and rule of the theocratic constitution and polity. It may conduce to the formation of correct views of the nature and value of such an inquiry as is here proposed, as it will also contribute to a methodical arrangement of the particulars pertinent to the subject, to indicate at the outset: 1. The place which the Five Books of Moses, or the Pentateuch, as they are termed, occupy in Judaism and Christianity; 2. The principal questions raised at various times respecting the genuineness and authenticity of those Books; and 3. The plan to be pursued in the present work.

Some remarks on the first of these points, though at this preliminary stage they can only be of a general character, are the more necessary from the misconception prevalent in various quarters respecting the relation of the Old Testament, particu-

larly its historical parts, to the New; and one result of which is that subjects of this kind are erroneously regarded as possessed only of an antiquarian or literary interest having little bearing on the Christian faith. A notice or review of the chief attacks on the authority of this portion of Scripture, and particularly with respect to the present aspect of the controversy, will again prepare for the manner in which the subject is to be here discussed, and vindicate the large place assigned to the theology of the Pentateuch and doctrinal considerations.

SECTION I. THE PLACE OF THE PENTATEUCH IN JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The Hebrew Scriptures, regarded even as mere literary productions, have a history as singular as the fortunes of the people among whom they originated. Viewed with respect to the place and time of their composition, these books naturally presented the remotest possible prospect of their ever attracting general notice, or even sufficient attention, from the very people to whose keeping they had been primarily committed, to secure their preservation from the fate which has proved destructive to so many other ancient documents. Addressed to a small and despised community, occupying a very isolated position in the world, from which they were cut off by their social and other institutions, and written too in a language never known much beyond this limited community, every condition favourable to the procuring a general recognition of the Hebrew Scriptures seemed to be entirely wanting; and yet the result is quite the reverse of what might in the circumstances be antecedently concluded. The Jewish people themselves have to this day a clearly defined existence in the living world; and that too notwithstanding an exposure through a long course of centuries to vicissitudes greater and more varied than those before which all the more renowned nations of antiquity have long since disappeared. And the same wonderful Providence which watched over the people has extended its care to their ancient records; while a more noticeable fact even than that

of the preservation of those records is the acceptance accorded to them—more extensive than in the case of any other compositions. The Hebrew books are incorporated with the sacred literature of Christianity though the people themselves stand aloof from the faith of the Gospel.

The very attitude of the original possessors of these books, however, in this respect, as well as their peculiar relation to laws and institutions which, as a living principle, clearly belong to a past order of things, supplies important testimony in favour of their Scriptures, and particularly of the influence which they must have exercised on the community. The religious belief, with the peculiar system under which the Israelitish nation was nurtured, and all the particulars of which were wholly dependent on their sacred code, could have been no ordinary power, seeing it has so moulded the Hebrew mind, so imbued it with the glory and traditions of the past, and the grand though ever tantalizing hopes of a brighter future, as in the absence of a national existence, of a country and a home, or other political centre, to have conserved the individuality of this remarkable people through eighteen centuries, to go no further back, to a degree to which there is nothing analogous in the history of the world. They are a people scattered among the nations, but refusing to coalesce or sympathize with any, because of their expectations of a future, which from *their* reading of the Scriptures they regard as peculiarly, or at least pre-eminently their own.

The Pentateuch, the first and most considerable part of these Scriptures, ever held a chief place in the estimation of the people whose origin and early history it purports to record, and whose entire constitution, civil and religious, it most rigorously and minutely regulated. With a forgetfulness, which but for the known perversity of the human mind in respect to such matters, might be deemed unaccountable, of its moral and religious precepts, frequently on the part almost of the entire community, particularly of such as had the direction of affairs, and with various endeavours through forced interpretations and other expedients to set aside what was felt to be its grievous burdens, (Matt. xv. 3-6; Mark vii. 8-13), there was yet an acquiescence in the claims of the Pentateuch to Divine authority which distinguished it from every other portion of

Scripture. However the later books may have been rejected by some of the sects into which later Judaism was divided, or with which it was associated, there was never, so far as appears, any question respecting the authority due to the Mosaic history and legislation.

But more particularly, the place which the Pentateuch held in Judaism may be inferred from the power which it exercised over the literature and the entire life of the community.

The Pentateuch being the most extensive, and in its style and contents the most varied portion of the Old Testament, and standing, moreover, at the head of the volume on account both of its subject and its age, its influence on the subsequent literary productions of the Hebrews must have been of no ordinary character. This is not a mere conjecture, or matter of inference, but a fact fully attested by all the remains of that literature, whether in poetic or prose compositions. In the prophetic books the influence of the Mosaic writings is specially apparent. The primary office of the prophets, indeed, as appears from their works, was to vindicate the authority of the Mosaic law, to urge it on the consciences of their countrymen, and recall them from their apostatising courses to the purity of faith and worship prescribed in the national covenant and constitution. Accordingly, the writings and popular addresses of these extraordinary ministers of religion give ample evidence, not only of their familiarity with the Pentateuch, but also of the direction thereby given to their own spiritual apprehensions. And further, as a recognition of the Divine authority of the peculiar polity of the nation was required for these prophetic teachings, without which the warnings and exhortations must be regarded as deceptive, so there was requisite on the part of the people an acquaintance at least with the nature of the Mosaic writings and ordinances, as otherwise, the language thus addressed to them could not fail to have been often exceedingly obscure, so much was it formed on the Pentateuchal occurrences and economy. But even in productions of a less didactic character, as the Psalms, which relate to matters of a more personal nature, devotional feelings and emotions, and the secret communings of the soul with God, the same influence largely manifests itself. A subject of frequent acknowledgement by the Psalmists is how much they meditated on the

"Law," meaning by that term the whole Mosaic writings, of which the law, strictly speaking, formed the distinguishing characteristic. Indeed, many of the Psalms are entirely poetical echoes of historical narratives in the Pentateuch, while the whole may be truly characterised, according to Hengstenberg,¹ as the response of God's people to His address to them in the law.

But the influence of the Pentateuch on the Hebrew literature is still more strikingly marked by the impress which it had undoubtedly been the means of communicating to the entire language. Apart altogether from its effects on matters of style and the mode of expressing religious thoughts, it gave to the Hebrew such a character of permanency, that the language of the Pentateuch continued with very inconsiderable difference to be that of the subsequent Israelitish historians, prophets and poets, for a period of about one thousand years, or until, through the influences of the Captivity, the language of Moses and the prophets almost ceased to be a living tongue. So great, indeed, is the uniformity in the language of the earlier and later writers prior to the exile, that the fact has by some philologists been made an argument against the antiquity of the Pentateuch. Other circumstances, no doubt, contributed to impart this fixedness to the Hebrew language; such as the great seclusion of the people, which prevented their exposure to foreign influences, the natural tendency of which is to modify the manners and ideas, and consequently the language of a community. But the chief cause must unquestionably be sought in the classical character of the Mosaic writings, the great record of the nation's history and laws.

But the Pentateuch had an interest far higher than that of any mere literary production, however perfect its execution and important its theme. Nor was this interest simply that of a religious document addressed to the piously disposed portion of the community, or to any other special class. So far

¹ *Commentar üb. die Psalmen*. "After the model of the Pentateuch, to which the Psalms are more nearly related than all the other books of Scripture, inasmuch as they, like it, were employed in divine worship, but still more as

they contained in a manner the answer of the people to God's address to them in the law, and disclose the pious feelings which are called forth in the minds of believers by the word of God," &c. *E. T.*, vol. iii., App. p. xl. *Edin.*, 1848.

from this being the case, the interest attaching to this work was that which belonged to it as the great national charter—the foundation and the regulating standard of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution; and not only so, but it embraced within its range personal and domestic relations equally with those of a public character. To the Israelite it was a record, not merely replete with historic lessons and moral and religious truths, which supplied maxims and incentives for the right conduct of life and affairs, but was also endued with the full authority of law, the sanction of which was not left simply to the individual conscience, but was partly by judicial enactments confided to the national representatives. The Pentateuch was thus throughout the Israelitish national existence no mere traditional voice of the past, but was in every succeeding age a power or legal ordinance of the present. Nor was the character which it thus possessed that of a public statute-book, the correct knowledge and interpretation of which belonged properly to such as were invested with magisterial or judicial functions; there was no state or condition of life, and in respect even to such ordinary matters as birth, marriage, and death, health and sickness, or prescriptions as to his daily food, in which the Israelite was not brought continually within the sphere of the law, and a necessity laid upon him of being intimately acquainted with all its requirements.

In a word, the Pentateuch was the history, the theology, and the law of the Israelites, setting forth their origin and high calling, and offering instruction for their attaining that end by the rule of life which it set before them, both individually, and as members of the theocratic commonwealth. So fully, indeed, were its claims in these various respects felt, and even acknowledged, that however the Jewish nation may have misunderstood the spirit of the law, or proved disobedient to its fundamental principles, they never questioned the authority of Moses as the founder of their polity, or his divinely accredited commission, nor indeed could they do so without questioning the entire history and institutions of the state, and whatever constituted its sole distinction among the nations of the earth. For the Jew to reject the authority of Moses, or dispute the authenticity of his writings, was a virtual abnegation of his character as a Jew or member of the covenant

people. It was not merely casting away the traditions which connected the nation with the past through its illustrious founder Abraham: it was also a renunciation of the immunities and promises pertaining to the present and the future; and more than that, or any private interest whatever, such scepticism was, under the theocratic constitution, rebellion against all public order and authority.

But it is not only the claims which the Pentateuch made on the Hebrew nation and their unqualified acquiescence therein, as the authoritative production of their divinely commissioned law-giver, that have to be considered; there are also its claims on the faith of Christians, who, it will be found, whatever assertions may be advanced to the contrary, or as to the New Testament being independent of the earlier records and dispensations, are equally concerned with the Jews in all that conduces to authenticate its historical credibility and its inspiration, and to illustrate the system which it embodies.

The relation of the Pentateuch to Christianity and the New Testament Scriptures is particularly intimate as it is also varied. To advert to only one or two particulars: first, there is an historical relation in which the authenticity of the Pentateuch affects the New Testament, particularly the historical appearance of Christ. Thus, at the very outset of the Gospels, a close connexion between the Mosaic history and the New Testament is clearly assumed. The genealogical tables in Matthew and Luke, of our Lord's descent from Adam through Abraham and the other Israelitish patriarchs, take for granted the authenticity of Genesis, the only record of these early ages; and of course the character of these genealogies must be injuriously affected by any doubts cast on the credibility of the original document. Another consideration belonging to the historical aspect of the case, is the sanction given by Christ and his apostles in a multitude of instances to the truth of the Mosaic writings. Our Lord in particular intimated to the Jews, that if they had believed Moses—referring, as is evident from the context, not to any doubt on their part as to Moses' authority, but to a misapprehension of or disobedience to his declarations and doctrines, they would have believed himself as the Person of whom Moses wrote, (John v. 46.) Further, the Great

Teacher gave unqualified sanction to the history and economy of the Pentateuch by declaring that his own mission had for its object, not the abrogation, but the fulfilment of the Law, (Matt. v. 17.) The sanction of the apostles, also, to the historical statements of the Pentateuch, is equally explicit; and this not merely in writings and discourses directed to their own countrymen, but in such also as were addressed to Gentiles—a fact of itself sufficient to dispose of the common rationalistic charge that these views were simply an accommodation to Jewish prejudices.

Again, not less intimate is the connection between the Mosaic writings and the New Testament in respect to doctrine. The New Testament is not only historically a continuation of the scheme of which the Pentateuch contains the commencement, it also purports to be doctrinally the development of the older dispensation—the realization of its types, and the fulfilment of its promises and prophecies. Even the historical narratives of the Pentateuch are made to assume in the New Testament a doctrinal connexion with the Gospel. The account of the creation, for instance, has its parallel and complement in the New Testament intimations of a “new creation,”—a process rendered necessary by the disorder introduced into God’s works according to the narrative of the fall, which immediately succeeds that of the material creation, and the truth of which change in man’s moral relation is so fully assumed, that it is assigned as the necessitating cause of the Gospel provision, (Rom. v. 12-21.) The deliverance of the Israelites too from the bondage of Egypt, in order to their entering into covenant with God, their introduction into, and occupancy of the land of promise, with all the correlative arrangements and institutions, as priesthood, sacrifice and purifications, are all represented by the New Testament writers as having their several counterparts, but in a higher and spiritual form, in the Christian economy, which, it is explicitly declared, has taken the place of the Mosaic dispensation. But, in short, the very arguments used in proof of the ceremonial observances being now utterly nugatory, emphatically accredit their divine origin and spiritual import. So much, in fact, is this assumed or affirmed throughout the New Testament, that its language in every important particular is moulded after the ordinances of the law.

There is thus, whether viewed historically or doctrinally, the closest relation between the Pentateuch and the New Testament, the latter not only bearing the impress of the former, through the influences, literary and religious, exercised on its several writers by the law, both as prescribed and as seen in actual exercise, but also avowedly resting upon the Mosaic history and economy as a foundation which, to believers in the Gospel, must appear to be thereby stamped with such authority that any doubts attaching to the character of the earlier, cannot fail, as already remarked, materially to prejudice that of the accredited record. From the fact that there is such an intimate connexion between the Old Testament and the New,—though through prejudice or ignorance frequently overlooked or attempted to be explained away,—it must appear that the authenticity of the Pentateuch is not a mere Jewish question, or one affecting only a past dispensation, with which, as is often erroneously stated, Christians have no concern, either in vindicating its origin or comprehending its aim. On the contrary, it is a question equally affecting Christianity and Judaism so far as their divine origin is concerned, inasmuch as the former not only grew up amidst or out of the latter, but also indisputably confers on it an unqualified sanction.

Viewing the present subject merely in its bearing on the literature and on the life, social and moral, of the ancient Hebrews, and its effects on their posterity to the present day, the Pentateuch presents a subject of much interest. But as related to Christianity, the vindication of its genuineness and authenticity from the open assaults of enmity, and the more injurious indifference arising from ignorance of its character and importance, is a matter not merely of interest, but of imperative obligation on such as would intelligently and consistently maintain the credibility and inspired authority of the New Testament. It is, in fact, the large amount of ignorance as to the specific aim of the economy introduced by the Pentateuch on the foundation of the earlier patriarchal dispensation, and its design as an institute and a revelation, prevalent at various times, and never more than at present, through the attempts industriously made by means of a perverted criticism to cast discredit on the Hebrew records, that gives paramount

importance to investigations of this kind, a primary object of which is to show the consequences which may be entailed on the Christian faith by a blind, inconsiderate assent to sceptical doubts, arising from difficulties or misconceptions of the older Scriptures, in the erroneous idea that no detriment is thereby done to the Gospel, or as others, with equal or perhaps greater ignorance of the matter, believe that by disparaging the Old Testament they are in fact conferring greater honour upon the New.

But further, the study of the Pentateuch and its peculiar economy has no small exegetical value. The remarks made on the influence of the Mosaic writings and institutions, on the literature and life of the covenant people, will show the importance of an acquaintance with the Pentateuch for understanding the later Scriptures, with their various allusions to the law and the services of the sanctuary. The same is also the case with the New Testament Scriptures; the writers of these too were brought up under the influence of the ancient economy, and recognising in it the better things of the Gospel, they were by their very mission required to present the ideas expressed by the various ceremonial actings in a language suited to the exigencies and apprehensions of all nations, and in every stage of mental culture. Much of the language of the New Testament is indeed a translation of Pentateuchal types and symbols; and it is this which gives it its simplicity and power. It is only, however, when read in the light of the ancient dispensation that its special force and applicability in many cases become apparent. The phraseology of the New Testament with respect, for instance, to the atonement, is wholly derived from the law of sacrifice, the terms of which must therefore be understood, in order to form correct views of the nature of Christ's satisfaction. The ideas expressed by the acts connected with the constantly repeated animal oblations were familiar to the Jew, and when, by the teaching of the Spirit, he was taught to apply them to the facts of the Gospel, there must have been a force and vividness in his case, of which those who have not been the subjects of such previous training can form but very inadequate conceptions. The more, therefore, the Christian reader, by a careful study of the law, can realize to himself the scenes and associations of that

economy of which the Gospel announces itself to be the fulfilment, the more will he be prepared to discern the admirable wisdom which planned the two dispensations, and so adjusted them in respect both of their absolute ends, and of their mutual relations, as to furnish unmistakable evidence of their constituting the continuous parts of one great system of revelation and moral training, for the restoration of fallen humanity.

SECTION II. REVIEW OF ATTACKS ON THE GENUINENESS AND AUTHORITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Literature. Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuchs*, vol. i. p. 1. Berlin, 1836, E. T. vol. i. pp. 1-67. Edin., 1847. Hävernicks, *Einleitung in d. Alte Testament*. § 145. Th. I., ii. 634-39. Erlang. 1837. E. T. pp. 440-45. Edin., 1850. Herbst, *Enleit. in d. Alte Test*. Th. II., i. 81-85. Carlsruhe, 1842.

From the fact of the Mosaic writings embodying the national law of the Hebrews, there was a peculiar authentication attached to them which did not belong to any other portion of their Scriptures. Accordingly, it is found that while some of the sects which sprung up in the later period of Jewish history, as the Sadducees, rejected the prophetic writings,¹ no question or controversy was ever in any quarter raised with respect to the authority of the Pentateuch. So far from there being any indication of this kind, it clearly appears that the Mosaic writings were held as the ultimate and unchallengeable standard of appeal in all matters of doctrine, (Matt. xxii. 31; Luke xx. 37). To speak against Moses was deemed an act of the highest profanity, than which nothing was more certainly followed by heavy punishment. (See Acts vi. 11).

The reverence manifested to the Mosaic authority by the Jewish community, was equally shared in by the early Christians, many of whom, indeed, had been educated in the Jewish faith and traditions. With respect to the latter class, it was even a matter of difficulty, as appears from various passages

¹ This is denied by Hottinger, (*The-saurus*, p. 36); Leusden, (*Phil. Hebræusmixtus*, p. 135); and Winer, (*Bib. R.W.B. Art. Sadducæer*, vol. ii. p. 353, Leip. 1848); but see on the other hand, Prideaux, (*Connexion*, vol. ii. 316. Lond. 1845); Neander, (*Church Hist.*, E. T., vol. i. p. 45).

in the apostolic writings, to wean them from an undue adherence to the Mosaic economy, owing to a misconception of its object, which failed to discern that though a divine institute, it possessed only a provisional character, and was not of permanent obligation. Gentile Christians, though not influenced in the same way by early partialities and prejudices, nevertheless fully admitted the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the eminent place which had been assigned by his countrymen to the Jewish legislator. Nor could this have been otherwise, considering the source from which they had received the Christian doctrines and Scriptures. The belief thus entertained was not only countenanced and encouraged by the first teachers of Christianity who, following the example of their divine Master, continually appealed to the Hebrew Scriptures in proof of the truth of their doctrines, but was even made a first principle, and insisted on in cases where it could not by any possibility be construed as an accommodation to Jewish prejudices.

The reception thus given alike by Jews and Christians to the books which passed under the name of Moses may be pronounced universal: the few dissentient voices which in course of time were heard on this subject, serve only, when the causes of their opposition are considered, to enhance the value of the general recognition. Thus Josephus complains that many would not believe the account he had given of the antiquity of his country, and he mentions some writers, as Apion, and at an earlier period, Manetho, who had given an account of the origin of the Hebrew nation different from that contained in the Scriptures. He further makes mention of treatises by Apollonius Molon and Lysimachus, against Moses and his laws, containing statements which he characterises as "neither just nor true," arising from ignorance, but chiefly from ill will to the Jews: and he complains of these writers that "they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous."¹ This opposition, however, coming entirely from without, cannot be strictly regarded as directed against the Mosaic writings in particular. It is rather, as Josephus himself represents it, an evidence of ill will to the Jewish people.

¹ Contra Apion. i. 1-14; ii. 2-15.

So also the doubts expressed by Celsus¹ in the beginning of the second century, regarding the authority of the Pentateuch, particularly the book of Genesis; for his opposition extended not only to Judaism and Christianity alike, but even to such doctrines as a special Providence, the Fall and Redemption, asserting that God made His work perfect at first, and needed not to improve it afterwards.

The Nazarenes and the author of the Clementines, towards the close of the second century, are the first proper impugnors of the authenticity of the Pentateuch.² The latter, indeed, held with the Jewish party who exalted the Mosaic writings above the rest of the Old Testament, as alone possessed of divine authority. Yet this recognition of the Pentateuch was only partial; it did not extend to the whole work, which, this author maintained, did not assume its present form till long after Moses, having been re-written many times over, in the course of which many foreign elements had been added which corrupted the original Mosaic doctrines.³ The author of the Clementines was thus the forerunner of a great class of modern critics, or, as Neander observes, "the first who availed himself of many of the arguments which were afterwards again brought forward independently of him, by later disputers of the genuineness of the Pentateuch."⁴

Ptolemy, a Valentinian Gnostic of the third century, divided the religious polity of Moses into three parts,—that which proceeded from the Demiurge; that which Moses enjoined by the direction of his own free reason; and the additions made to the Mosaic laws by the elders, from oral traditions. Christ, he maintained, distinguished the law of Moses from the law of the Demiurge, (Matt. xix. 6). And yet, with the view of excusing Moses, Ptolemy endeavoured to show that the contradictions between him and the Demiurge are only in appearance; he merely yielded through constraint to the weakness of the people in order to avoid a greater evil.⁵

¹ Origen cont. Cels. Lib. iv. 42: οὐ Μωϋσέως οἰεται εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλὰ τινῶν πλειόνων.

δογματίζουσιν ἄλλας δὲ παρ' αὐτὰς ἔχειν διαβεβαιούνται.

² Of the Nazarenes, Joannes Damascenus says (*Lib. de Hæresib.* § 19.) τὰς δὲ τῆς πεντατεύχου οὐκ εἶναι Μωϋσέως

³ Gieseler, Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 209. Edin., 1846.

⁴ Neander, Church History, vol. ii. pp. 27-28. Edin., 1847.

⁵ Neander, Ch. History, vol. ii. 141.

Passing over the Manichæans and other heretical sects, whose attitude to the Old Testament, or indeed to the New, is of no account, inasmuch as they pronounced everything adverse to their own views to be errors subsequently mixed up with the original truth,¹ some notice must be taken of a statement of Jerome, on account of which he is sometimes held as impugning the genuineness of the Pentateuch: "*Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso.*"² These words, however, admit of a satisfactory explanation. Jerome is here evidently referring to the Jewish tradition of the restoration or revisal of the sacred books by Ezra, after the return from Captivity, and which had obtained considerable acceptance with the fathers, for Tertullian also remarks: "*Omne instrumentum Judaicæ literaturæ per Esdram constat restauratum;*"³ and hence the terms of recognition in which Jerome alludes to it, although discerning its doubtfulness. But in truth this tradition did not question the genuineness of the Pentateuch, in representing Ezra under divine guidance restoring the text to its original purity.

These are all, or at least the more noticeable, of the early writers and disputers who denied the genuineness of the Mosaic writings. From the generally hostile position which they occupied, or the special dogmatic bias from which their objections proceeded, they cannot be held as greatly affecting the ecclesiastical unanimity in favour of these works, which may be properly said to have remained undisturbed till certain Rabbinic authors of the middle ages put forth opposite views. These sentiments were however expressed very obscurely and doubtfully,—a circumstance which, as Hävernicks remarks, evidenced the weight of authority felt to be arrayed against them. Thus, Isaac Ben Jasos, in the beginning of the eleventh century, maintained that portions of the Pentateuch belonged to a later age than the Mosaic, that Gen. xxxvi. for instance, was written in the time of Jehoshaphat.⁴ Aben Ezra, too, whose commentary on the Old Testament was written between the

¹ Gieseler, Eccles. Hist. vol. i. 226.

² Liber adv. Helvidium. Opera ed. Vallarsius, tom. ii., p. 212. Veronæ, 1735.

³ De Cultu Feminarum, cap. iii. See

Prideaux (Connexion, vol. i., p. 316), for an account and refutation of this absurd opinion.

⁴ Studien und Kritiken, 1832, p. 634.

years 1140 and 1167, held that some passages of the Pentateuch were interpolated: yet he expressed himself very obscurely, fearing, as Carpzov¹ supposes, to be charged with heresy.

It is exceedingly probable that these views, arising for the most part from dogmatic prejudices or errors of interpretation, exerted but little weight in their own day, though now, by modern opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, drawn forth from the obscurity of past ages. It is certain these disputations were unheard of or unheeded during the stirring times which witnessed, and partly followed, the Reformation. Questions of a more important character then occupied men's minds, and it was only when the mighty tide of the Reformation began to ebb, and its healthy energies to be exhausted, that doubts regarding the genuineness of the Mosaic writings were again expressed, and which, as the age degenerated, increased into indifference or infidelity. In connexion, however, with this period must be adduced the statement of John Carlstadt or Draconites († 1566), who observed: "*Defendi potest, Mosen non fuisse scriptorem quinque librorum: ista de morte Mosis nemo nisi plane dementissimus Mosis velut auctori tribuet;*"² and of Masius († 1573): "*Pentateuchum longo post Mosen tempore, interjectis saltem hic illic verborum et sententiarum clausulis, veluti sarcitum, atque omnino explicatius redditum esse.*" And, again: "*Neque Mosis libros sic ut nunc habentur ab illo compositos certum est; sed ab Ezdra aut alio quopiam divino viro, qui pro vetustis et exoletis locorum nominibus, quibus rerum gestarum memoria posset optime et percipi et conservari, reposuerit.*"³

At a later period, Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury († 1679), an English deistical writer, gave expression to similar sentiments in his work styled '*Leviathan*.' "It is sufficiently evident," he says, "that the five books of Moses were written after his time." Yet he admits that Moses "wrote all that he is there said to have written."⁴ Much about the same time

¹ *Introductio in Vet. Testamentum*, vol. i., p. 39. Lips. 1757.

² *Libellus de canonicis Scripturis*. Wittenb. 1529—reprinted in Credner, *zur Geschichte des Kanons*. Halle, 1847.

³ A. Masii Josuæ Imperatoris His-

toria, illustrata atque explicata. Præf. p. 2, and on ch. xix. 47. Antv. 1574.

⁴ *Leviathan*, or the matter, form, and power of a Commonwealth, eccles. and civil, ch. xxxiii. Lond. 1651. Works ed. Molesworth, vol. iii., p. 369. Lond.

1839.

Isaac Peyrerius († 1676), who broached the theory of Præadamites held that only fragments and extracts from the genuine Mosaic books now remain.¹ Not a few of the arguments still advanced by modern writers against the genuineness of the Pentateuch have been derived from the last named authors, but more particularly from Spinoza († 1677), who belonged to the same period. Spinoza held that none but Ezra could be considered the author of the books ascribed to Moses.² The objections advanced by Hobbes, Peyrerius, and Spinoza, were examined and refuted by Heidegger,³ Witsius,⁴ Carpzov,⁵ and by Bishop Kidder in a Dissertation prefixed to his Commentary on the Five Books of Moses. Some of the remarks of the last named writer are exceedingly judicious. Of Le Clerc, whose Commentary on Genesis had just appeared, he says: "He concludes, as if he had been retained against Moses."

At this time also appeared the 'Critical History of the Old Testament,' by a priest of the Oratory, Richard Simon, who maintained, in accordance with some of the views above referred to, that the Pentateuch was not written entirely by Moses, as it contains additions and alterations belonging to a much later period.⁶ This was followed by a production of Le Clerc,⁷ wherein it was held that the author of the Pentateuch was the priest sent by the Assyrian king to teach the new Gentile settlers in Palestine, "the manner of the God of the land," (2 Kings xvii. 24-28); but these views were subsequently retracted in a special Dissertation on the author of the Pentateuch, prefixed to Le Clerc's Commentary, in which he remarks: "Sed cum perspicue probatum dederimus, necesse esse ut ferè totum Pentateuchum a Mose scriptum agnoscatur, nulla causa est cur eos libros ei non tribuamus."⁸ To the list

¹ Syst. Theol. ex Præadamitarum hypothesi, Lib. iv. cap. 1, p. 185. Lugd. 1655.

² Tractatus Theologico-politicus, ch. viii., p. 103. Amst. 1670.

³ Exercitationes Biblicæ, vol. i., p. 246.

⁴ Miscell. Sac., L. i. c. 14, vol. pp. 103-130. Traject. 1692.

⁵ Introductio, vol. i., pp. 38, 57-62.

⁶ Histoire critique du Vieux Testament [Paris 1678.] Rotterd. 1685, L. i. ch. 5, p. 31. The title of this chapter is: "Moïse ne peut être l'Auteur de tout ce qui est dans les Livres qui lui sont attribués."

⁷ Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande, p. 129. Amst. 1685.

⁸ Genesis, sive Mosis prophetæ liber primus. Dissert. iii., § 4. Amst. 1693.

of impugnors of the genuineness of the Mosaic writings at this period must also be added the name of Ant. Van Dale, who ascribed them to Ezra.¹

It is to be observed, however, that the Pentateuch received far greater injury at the hands of professed friends than of avowed enemies, and in this several English writers may be said to have taken the lead. The low and erroneous views of the Hebrew ritual entertained towards the close of the seventeenth century by Barrow,² Tillotson,³ and others, were fully and systematically carried out, and withal commended with great learning by Dr. John Spencer, who, though far from entertaining, or at least expressing, any doubt as to the genuineness and authenticity of the Mosaic writings, yet indirectly exerted the most pernicious influences with respect to their character from the manner in which he represented the Mosaic economy, and the purposes he ascribed to its various ordinances. Spencer's great work, '*De Legibus Hebræorum ritualibus et eorum Rationibus*,' Camb. 1685, was avowedly undertaken in defence of the Hebrew ritualism; nevertheless, as Magee remarks, it "has always been resorted to by infidel writers in order to wing their shafts more effectively against the Mosaic revelation."⁴ Its author's object was to shew that the primary design of the Hebrew ritual was to counteract the idolatrous tastes which the people had acquired in Egypt. For this purpose it was necessary, he alleges, to occupy the minds of a people so rude and lawless as the Israelites were at the time of the Exodus with a constant round of rites and ceremonies of a harmless character, borrowed from the Egyptians and neighbouring nations, and with which they had been already familiar. These ordinances, in the view of Spencer, had "no agreement with the nature of God;" nor were they "needful for the cultivation of piety," while some of them indeed he holds were of a more reprehensible character, but necessarily tolerated because the law must yield to the disposition which it cannot altogether check. Of this view it need only be remarked at present, that if it be a correct representa-

¹ *De Origine et Progressu Iddolatriæ*, pp. 71, 686. Amst. 1696.

² Works, vol. i. p. 440. Lond. 1728.
See Magee, Works, vol. i. p. 478. Lond.

³ Sermon, *The Imperfection of the Jewish Religion*. Works, v. p. 32. 1842.

⁴ Works, vol. i. p. 483.

tion of the object and character of the Jewish ceremonial law, nothing can be conceived more derogatory to its claims to divine origin, and to the character of Moses who represents it as given by God. This view of the Mosaic economy, so far from presenting it, as it did to Warburton, as "an institution of the most beautiful and sublime contrivance,"¹ seems rather to argue the utmost impotency and want of contrivance on the part of the lawgiver in attempting, as Bolingbroke sarcastically remarked of this theory, "to destroy idolatry by indulgence to the very superstitions out of which it grew."²

The sentiments of Spencer were received with great favour, especially on the Continent, where the work was immediately reprinted (Hagæ, 1686) with a preface, wherein it is described as a production received in England, "*flagrantibus doctissimorum hominum votis.*" At the same time, however, it encountered zealous and learned opponents in Witsius, Lund, Meyer, and others.³ The '*Ægyptiaca*' of Witsius was specially directed against Marsham (Canon Chronicus, Lond. 1672), and Spencer's earlier work, '*Urim et Thummim*,' (Cantab. 1669), but this, as well as the other works which the Spencerian controversy called forth, only partially succeeded in confuting the views of their learned antagonist. The resemblance between many of the Jewish and Egyptian religious observances produced by Spencer, the more considerate of his adversaries did not venture to deny; but instead of inquiring into the true cause of this similarity, by an examination of the meaning of such natural and religious symbols, and the circumstances which led to their adoption in other cases also, as the most appropriate expressions for particular religious ideas—an inquiry for which at that time, it must be admitted, there were not sufficient materials—they vainly attempted to shew that the rites in question were not derived by the Jews from the Egyptians, but that the reverse of this was the case,—an assumption altogether untenable.

Of course it was easy for Warburton and others, who espoused the views of Spencer, to point out various weak

¹ Divine Legation, vol. ii., p. 311. Lond. 1846.

² Phil. Works, vol. i., p. 319. Lond. 1754.

³ Witsius, *Ægyptiaca*, sive de *Ægyptiacorum sacrorum cum Hebræicis col-*

latione. Amst. 1683. Lund, *die alten jud. Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste u. Gewohnheiten.* Hamb. 1695. Meyer, *de Temporibus et Festis Hebræorum.* Amst. 1698.

points in the theory set up by his opponents ; but they added little or nothing to the cause of their master. Warburton, indeed, entertained more correct views than Spencer of the typical character of the law. He held "that the ritual laws being made in reference to Egyptian superstition is no reasonable objection to the divinity of its original,"¹ but his arguments on this point, as well as on the main object of his work, to which reference will presently be made, are more curious than convincing, and certainly they are in no way fitted to exalt the character of the Mosaic legislation.

Le Clerc, it has been already remarked, retracted in his Commentary the views he had previously expressed regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch. After examining all the passages, eighteen in number, at all calculated to excite suspicion of its having been composed by a later writer than Moses, he concludes that the greater number are doubtful, and though a few may be additions by a later hand, there is nothing to invalidate the Mosaic authorship of the work. But this admission was of comparatively little value, being counteracted by the rationalistic principles of interpretation which that author pursued, and which were the more detrimental because commended by his pertinent illustrations from classic literature. Though often formally dissenting from statements of Spencer, Le Clerc adopted his sentiments, and in many cases pushed them to their legitimate conclusions. Miracles in particular had no place in the scheme of this writer; and of course every thing which might lay claim to such a character must be reduced to the level of nature, or somehow explained away. In this, and various other features which marked the Biblical expositions of Le Clerc, a path was directly opened up for mythical notions, and consequently for denying the genuineness and authenticity of works which represented these miracles as historical realities.²

The scepticism and religious frivolity of the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, eagerly rushed forward in the paths thus opened up. The Mosaic writings in particular, were assailed by every sort of weapon, not the least common of which were sarcasm and ridicule.

¹ Divine Legislation, vol. ii. p. 352.

² See Hengstenberg, *Authenticity*, E.T. vol. i. p. 9.

Some of the English and French infidel writers showed a special predilection for the latter species of argument; while the Teutonic opponents chose the higher field of criticism and antiquarian research, from which they promised to themselves ample proofs of the incorrectness of the Mosaic history. The question of the authorship of the Pentateuch had thus, it is evident, become a very subordinate matter, for even with the admission that it was the work of Moses, there were not unfrequently more than doubts expressed as to its credibility. Thus, the English deistical writer, Blount,¹ objected to the Mosaic history because, as he alleged, irreconcilable with the antiquities of the Chaldeans and Egyptians. Toland,² another writer of the same stamp, preferred the account given by the Greek geographer, Strabo, of Moses and the Jewish religion, to anything found in the Hebrew writers themselves; while Morgan,³ again, inveighed against the character of the law as "having neither truth nor goodness in it, and as a wretched scheme of superstition, blindness and slavery, contrary to all reason and common sense." Bolingbroke, too, another bitter enemy of revelation, lavished unmeasured abuse on the Mosaic writings, denying not only their divine authority, but also their genuineness and credibility, and ascribing their composition to the time of the Judges.⁴

It is true there were not wanting defenders of the writings and the system thus impugned; many of whom evinced considerable learning and skill, as Chandler,⁵ Lowman,⁶ and Leland; but others again were so imbued with the spirit of the age, that their defences proved no less detrimental to the character of the Sacred Scriptures than the attacks which they undertook to repulse. They abandoned to the enemy almost all that was worth contending for.

¹ Oracles of Reason. Lond., 1693—a work which borrowed largely from Peyrierius. See Leland, *Deistical Writers*, vol. i. 47. Lond., 1798.

² *Origines Judaicæ, sive Strabonis de Mose et religione Judaica historia breviter illustrata.* Hagæ, 1709.

³ *Moral Philosopher.* Lond., 1737. See Leland, vol. i. p. 150.

⁴ *Philosoph. Works*, vol. iii. See Leland, vol. ii. pp. 76-173.

⁵ *A Vindication of the History of the Old Testament.* Lond. 1741.

⁶ *A Dissertation on the Civil Government of the Hebrews.* 2nd ed. Lond., 1745. *A Rationale of the Ritual of the Hebrew worship.* 1748.

To this latter class of apologists rightly belong Bishop Warburton and J. D. Michaelis. The former of these, in his work, "The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated," the first volume of which appeared in 1738, undertook "to prove the divine origin of the Jewish religion," (Pref.)—a subject to which he was induced, as he remarks, "from observing a notion to have spread very much of late, even amongst many who would be thought Christians, that the truth of Christianity is independent of the Jewish dispensation." Of this "sort of people," Warburton observes, in terms exceedingly appropriate to some pretentious writers of the present day, "if they really imagine Christianity hath no dependence on Judaism, they deserve our compassion, as being plainly ignorant of the very elements of the religion they profess."¹ The work is undoubtedly marked by great learning, but for the most part having little or no bearing on the subject under discussion, while the whole is based on exceedingly erroneous principles. The argument on which the ingenious author rests his demonstration is, as he alleges, "the omission of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments in the laws and religion Moses delivered to the Jewish people." In this way he conceived he had turned the position of the deists; "being enabled hereby to show them, that this very circumstance of omission, which they pretend to be such an imperfection as makes the dispensation unworthy the author to whom we ascribe it, is in truth a demonstration that God only could give it." Of course it required not a little torturing of the text to exclude from the Pentateuch all reference, direct or indirect, to the rewards and punishments of another life, and still more, to show, as the theory demanded, that "the Israelites, from the time of Moses to the time of their captivity, had not the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments."² The other propositions of Warburton were that the doctrine which he denied to be contained in the Pentateuch, is necessary to the well-being of civil society, and that all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that it was of such use.³ This necessary cement

¹ Divine Legation, vol. i. pp. 110-111.

² Divine Legation, vol. i. p. 112.

³ Ibid, vol. iii. p. 11.

of society having no place in the institutions founded by Moses, they would inevitably have crumbled to pieces but for the extraordinary Providence which must, it is thus triumphantly concluded, have watched over them.

With respect to these paradoxical views it need only be remarked, that matters must have come to a singular conjuncture with the Hebrew legislator, when no better proof could be advanced of his divine legation than the more outward and earthly character, as compared with the legislation of the other nations of antiquity, which marked his views and enactments. It was, in these circumstances, no wonder that Warburton found, as he says, "many bigots among believers," who questioned the correctness of his propositions. However, the reception which the work experienced was of the most varied kind. By the friends and admirers of the author, it was received with an enthusiasm which would not allow that it contained any thing erroneous; while others went to the opposite extreme of charging it with all manner of faults. Its effects, however, were anything but beneficial; and so far from stemming the deistical current at that time strongly setting in, it was fitted rather to increase it, by the concessions unwarrantably made to the enemies of revelation. Hengstenberg,¹ indeed, affirms that with all its zeal against Deism, the fundamental character of the work is deistical—a judgment certainly for which there is afforded much countenance.

To a far greater extent, however, does this character apply to the work of J. D. Michaelis,² the other celebrated apologist for Moses. The object of the "*Mosaisches Recht*" of this learned author was to evince the excellency of the Mosaic law, and so to vindicate it from the attacks of the English deists and French atheists. How he proposed to do so will appear from a remark in the introduction: "I dare confidently assert, that in the books of Moses we shall meet with some very unexpected and splendid specimens of legislative sagacity." This may seem, so far, to assign to the Hebrew legislator a higher character than that awarded to him by the Warburtonian theory; but when this legislative sagacity, as represented by

¹ Authentie, E. T., vol. ii. p. 461.

lingen, 1793. Commentaries on the

² Grundliche Erklärung des Mosaischen Rechts, (Frankf. a M. 1770.) Reut-

Laws of Moses. Lond., 1814.

Michaelis, is further considered, the character of Moses as the founder of a religious system and an inspired teacher, becomes exceedingly questionable. According to this champion, Moses was fully conversant with the most approved Machiavellian principles, and with the maxim that the end sanctifies the means—a maxim of which he freely availed himself, “where,” as Michaelis considerably interposes, “it could be done without fraud.”¹ Another saving clause of this author is: “It is a matter of course that this artifice must not be used too lavishly.”² The instrument employed on such occasions was religion—the only power which could impress a rude and undisciplined people, and induce them to submit to such restrictions as appeared to the wisdom of the lawgiver necessary to secure the well-being of the people, individually and socially. Among these restrictions, sanitary regulations held a very important place, but, as Michaelis avers, Moses knew well that proper attention to matters of diet and cleanliness, and others of a similar character, could only be secured by giving them a religious covering.

Like Warburton, Michaelis gave up the doctrine of rewards and punishments, but on a different ground. With Michaelis it was enough to vindicate the omission of this doctrine in the Pentateuch, that the Mosaic law was only a civil institution, to which, as a matter of course, no retributions after death can belong. This vindication, if in itself of any value at all, was based on a concession which in fact involved all that was worth contending for. If the Hebrew institutions had only, as maintained by their advocate, a civil character, the Divine mission of Moses was effectually excluded, and his claims to such must unquestionably be classed in the number of pious frauds which Michaelis did not hesitate to impute to him.

Following in the wake of Spencer and Michaelis, but with far less of the decorum even of the latter writer, Alexander Geddes,³ who styled himself a “Catholic Christian,” cannot be omitted in a review of those who attacked the character of the Mosaic writings, however little the character of his arguments entitles him to such a place. Indeed, there is a grossness of

¹ Mosais. Recht. Theil. i. § 13.

² Ibid. Th. iii. § 145.

³ Translation of the Holy Bible, vol. i. Lond., 1792.

manner about this writer which renders his statements exceedingly repulsive; and though his critical remarks were by Vater deemed worthy of being incorporated into his Commentary on the Pentateuch, and so submitted to German readers, his works failed to attract much attention at home. In the true spirit of Spencer, Geddes admitted that the Mosaic ritual was compiled with great judgment, and with more than ordinary knowledge of the human heart. The view of the compiler, or composer, was to establish and secure the worship of the one true God; and consequently, to prevent idolatry, to which his people were so prone, and had been so long accustomed in the land of Egypt. "Very wisely, therefore," according to this expositor, "he makes a composition with them, on bringing them out of that land, to which, in spite of his indulgence, they more than once threatened to return. 'Ye shall still, (said he), have a public pompous worship: ye shall have a tabernacle, an altar, priests, sacrifices, ceremonies, festivals, as other nations have: only apply and appropriate all this to the worship of the LORD, the GOD of Israel.'"¹ Quite satisfied with his own explanation, he adds: "This concession must have been extremely agreeable to a sensual grovelling people." This is very possible, but such a procedure must have been as diametrically opposed to any conceptions of a divine authority sanctioning the system. But with such considerations, Geddes did not much trouble himself. He did not believe that the Pentateuch was the work of Moses. The reign of Solomon is the period to which he would refer it; although there are some marks he held indicative even of a later composition, or at least of posterior interpolation.² And so little confidence did he repose in the truthfulness of the historian, whoever he might be, that he would believe him only so far as accorded with his own preconceptions as to any particular statement; "the authority being that of a Jewish historian, who lived no one can tell when or where; and who seems to have been as fond of the marvellous as any Jew of any age."³ This alone may suffice to give an idea of the character of the judge before whom Moses and his writings were here arraigned.

¹ Trans. of Holy Bible. Pref. vol. i.
p. 13.

² Ibid. p. xviii.

³ Ibid. Notes on Exod. iii.

But now, towards the close of the eighteenth century, commenced what by certain parties has been styled "the age of criticism," in respect to the literary remains of antiquity, but which may more properly be called that of historical scepticism, from its energies being directed, not to the elucidation of obscurities in these precious monuments of past ages, but to the raising of questions as to their genuineness, by subjecting them to various processes of disintegration. Wolf, who introduced this system, and, as is well known, applied it to the Homeric poems, found a host of imitators, who carried his principles further, perhaps, than he himself would have approved, and endeavoured to cast discredit on almost all that was venerable for its antiquity. In this literary crusade the Jewish books could not, of course, be expected to find exemption, or a more favourable examination of their claims; nor, indeed, was such desirable,¹ provided only the inquiry was properly conducted. But this was hardly to be expected. On the contrary, there were various peculiarities in the case of these books, which must have secured their condemnation by critics, in various ways already committed against them, but quite unprejudiced, it may be, with regard to secular productions. But apart entirely from all dogmatic considerations, the greater antiquity claimed by the Mosaic books, in comparison with the Homeric and other classic productions, made them, on the theory of Wolf, whose chief argument was the late origin of the art of writing, only the more suspected of being of much more recent composition.

Before the systematic attempts, accordingly now made, to discredit the Hebrew Scriptures, more particularly the Pentateuch, as professedly the oldest of these productions, the previous objections, at least those directed against its genuineness, may be regarded as altogether trivial,—touching only incidental points, and not affecting the plan and structure of the work. Such at least was the estimate of the altered circumstances of the case formed by so determined an opponent of the genuineness of the Pentateuch as De Wette, who remarks: "During the long supremacy of an uncritical belief in tradition, from time to time, and even in antiquity, there arose doubts as to the genuineness of the books of Moses. But these doubts were

¹ This is well put by Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 7, 8. Lond. 1859.

first confirmed by the science of historical criticism in modern times.”¹ And then the same writer adds: “But this, however, was not done satisfactorily, or without mistake.” Of this, De Wette’s own productions, though belonging to a more advanced stage of this critical application, furnish striking examples, as admitted by the various modifications he himself successively introduced. But, however, the time had now arrived when it was found expedient to throw some concealment over the spirit of hostility formerly avowed in the discussion of these questions; and this was effected by impressing an apparently more scientific character on the doubts advanced, and by the assumption of an indifference altogether dispassionate as to the results of the inquiry.

It is quite unnecessary to enumerate more than a few out of the great array of names which figured in the controversy, which had thus taken a new direction, and had obtained an additional impetus, for the great majority exerted so little influence on their contemporaries, or their schemes were so speedily supplanted by those of their successors in this field of investigation, that they are now almost forgotten. It is sufficient to observe, that some of these critics proceeded on the view that the entire Hebrew literature pointed, by unequivocal marks, to one and the same period as that of its origin, although they differed as to the precise era, so that the composition of the Pentateuch was thus variously assigned to the time of David, or of Jeremiah. Others, again, adopting the principles of what is still known in Biblical criticism as the “Document-hypothesis,” declared the Pentateuch, and especially the book of Genesis, to be a compilation from various earlier memoirs; while, on the further development of this critical system, it was pronounced to be a mass of heterogeneous fragments, the productions of ages and authors the most diversified.

As propounded by its original author, Astruc,² a Belgian physician, the hypothesis of original documents or memoirs was indeed limited to Genesis; as it was also in the hands of Eichhorn,³ who first brought Astruc’s views prominently into

¹ Einleitung in d. Alte Test. § 164, p. 205, 7te Ausg. Berlin, 1852.

² Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il paroît que Moyse s’est

servi pour composer le livre de la Genese. Bruxel. 1753.

³ Einleitung in das Alte Testament (Leip. 1780-83), 4te, Ausg. Götting. 1823.

notice. Eichhorn, though maintaining the compilation of Genesis from original documents,—a view held by many earlier writers, and which in itself involves no serious consequences to the authority of the work—yet allows that, in its present form, it is the production of Moses. The portion of Eichhorn's "Introduction" devoted to the Pentateuch, though nominally, and indeed designedly, a defence of its authenticity and Mosaic authorship, contains, however, such false notions, and rests so much on a deistical basis, as is strikingly apparent in his attempts to explain, on natural principles, everything of a miraculous character, as greatly to damage, if not altogether to destroy its apologetic value, by depriving the Mosaic writings of their proper force and truth. But the limits within which Eichhorn confined his principles of criticism, and which must be pronounced extremely presumptuous and arbitrary, whatever might be the production to which they were applied, failed to satisfy the more adventurous class of critics, which included Vater,¹ and De Wette,² who was at this time beginning his literary career. Others, as Ilgen³ and Gramberg,⁴ were also dissatisfied with the nature of Eichhorn's theory, and they set about improvements and modifications of their own, retaining, however, some connexion with the original; although, in the hands of Ilgen in particular, the results differed widely from those previously arrived at by Eichhorn.

The Essay of Vater on "Moses and the Authors of the Pentateuch," appended to his Commentary, shewed the germs of the "Document-hypothesis" developed and carried out to their natural results. In fact, it was no longer properly the Document-hypothesis, for the shreds and fragments to which Vater reduced the Pentateuch could not be dignified with the name of "document;" and hence the name of "Fragment-hypothesis," whereby this criticism was henceforth known. There was now no limit to the number of fragments, some of them exceedingly minute, into which not only Genesis, but the

¹ *Commentar über den Pentateuch.* Halle, 1802-4.

² *Kritik d. Israel. Geschichte.* Halle, 1807.

³ Ilgen, *Urkunden des ersten Buchs Moses.* Halle, 1798.

⁴ Gramberg, *Libri Geneseos secundum fontes rite dignoscendos adumbratio nova.* Lips. 1828.

whole Pentateuch was reduced ; while the relation of these fragments to one another was in many cases of the most casual kind, when brought together for the formation of the Pentateuch, which received its present form, as Vater conceived, probably about the time of the Captivity. Not satisfied, however, with such general statements, De Wette undertook to define more distinctly the date of the present constituent parts. Genesis and Exodus he assigned to the period from Samuel to Joram ; Leviticus and Numbers to that of the Assyrian captivity, and Deuteronomy to that of the Babylonian. These views were considerably modified in the various editions of De Wette's " *Einleitung*," and at length finally abandoned for a modified form of the original Document-hypothesis, but still to the exclusion of the Mosaic authorship. But it is unnecessary to enter into details with regard to positions which were thus continually changing, and were often completely abandoned by the authors themselves ; particularly as they presented little or nothing in common with the theories of others. So utterly discordant, indeed, in many cases, were the views advanced, that it would be a sufficient refutation of the several theories, so far as to show the utterly unscientific and arbitrary principles on which they were based, to set the one in array against the other, and so neutralize the force of various opposing statements.

The correctness of this remark will partly appear from the following brief reference to a few of the more recent writers who adopted the views of Eichhorn, or the modified theory of Vater, as the foundation of their critical conclusions respecting the age and authorship of the Pentateuch. Schumann,¹ adopting the previously cited Jewish tradition, represents Ezra as completing the law, and reducing the Pentateuch to its present form. The tradition, when stripped of its Jewish fables, he regards as showing, "*Eoram de Pentateucho optime meritum esse et ante Eoram non adfuisse Pentateuchum, qualis per Eoram et post eum innotuit.*" Hartmann² is, however, less explicit as to the origin of the present Pentateuch, although he holds that the separate books were composed at different periods,

¹ Genesis Hebraice et Græce, p. xxxviii. Lips. 1829.

² Forschungen üb. d. Bildung u. d. Zeitalter d. BB. Mosis. Rostock, 1837.

extending down to the captivity. Von Bohlen,¹ whose exposition of Genesis is pre-eminent for its rash statements and rationalistic superficiality, admits that the Pentateuch is marked by a certain degree of unity, notwithstanding that its several parts were composed at various times, and Deuteronomy earliest of all; implying, of course, that they must have been thus adjusted by some later writer. The Fragment-hypothesis of Vater found no favour from Von Bohlen, who acknowledges the merits of Ewald's early labours in proving the higher unity which belongs to the Pentateuch, particularly to Genesis. Deuteronomy, in his view the earliest portion of the work, he refers to the time of the Captivity, and finds in its style much resemblance to the writings of Jeremiah. The only other writer of this class, and of a somewhat later date, that need be mentioned, is Vatke,² author of a thoroughly rationalistic work on the Theology of the Old Testament, wherein he maintains that the legislation was not completed even at the time of the Captivity; that many of the myths and ideas in the Pentateuch were adopted, or received their full development, during the exile, and that the whole system owes its completion, probably, to the zeal of Ezra.

The preceding are only a few, and by no means the most extravagant, of the views propounded by expositors and Biblical critics in Germany with respect to the Pentateuch. But the "Document-hypothesis" of Eichhorn and the "Fragment-hypothesis" of Vater, on which the authors just named more or less proceeded in impugning the genuineness of that work, were supplanted in the estimation of the rationalistic critics themselves by a new theory proposed by Tuch,³ then commencing, like De Wette, as already remarked, his literary career. To this theory has been given the name of "Complement-hypothesis" (*Ergänzungshypothese*), from the circumstance of its regarding Genesis—for it is only to the first book of the Pentateuch that the author applies it—as the production of two writers,—the earlier a priest of the time of Samuel, and the other, who revised and also largely supplemented the

¹ Die Genesis erläutert. pp. clxxviii, clxxxvii. Königsb. 1835.

den Kanonischen Büchern entwickelt. Berlin, 1835.

² Religion d. Alten Testaments nach

³ Kommentar über die Genesis. Halle 1838.

deficiencies of the original sketch, and who in fact gave to it its present form and finish, Tuch assigns to the time of Solomon. These views of Tuch, with respect to the structure of Genesis were, with slight modifications, extended by Stähelin¹ to the three middle books of the Pentateuch, and are now more or less recognised by the various representatives of German Rationalism, and, indeed, by some to whom it would be doing injustice to include under that designation, as Delitzsch² and Kurtz,³ although they differ widely from Tuch and his followers as to the composition and the relation of the work to Moses. But even this qualified adhesion to the views in question is very surprising, particularly as respects Kurtz, inasmuch as in his earlier productions he showed himself to be both an able and an uncompromising opponent of the Complement-hypothesis in every form.

In order to give some completeness to this brief historical sketch of the successive forms assumed by this Protean criticism, in its attempts to demolish the historical foundations of Judaism and Christianity, a remark or two must be made on the theory of Ewald,⁴ not on account of the acceptance which it has experienced, for it has yet scarcely got beyond the confidence of its author, but because it is the most recent of the kind,—the views of Hupfeld⁵ being only a revival in a modified form of those of Gramberg,—and more particularly because its very extravagance will at once shew the large part which fancy plays in these matters. Ewald,⁶ who first appeared as a defender of the unity of the Book of Genesis, and now occupies a distinguished place as a Hebrew grammarian, has been for some time occupied with a history of the Israelitish people. In this work all previous theories and disputations regarding the earliest literature of the Hebrews, and the changes through which these productions passed, have been completely thrown into the shade. Seven authors at the very least had a share in the composition of the Pentateuch,

¹ Kritische Untersuchungen üb. den Pentateuch. Berlin, 1843.

² Die Genesis ausgelegt, 2te Ausg. Leip. 1853. P. 52, ff.

³ Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. § 99, pp. 531-45. Berlin, 1855.

⁴ Geschichte des Volkes Israel, 2te Ausg., Götting., 1851, vol. i., p. 80, ff.

⁵ Die Quellen der Genesis. Berlin, 1853.

⁶ Composition der Genesis Critisch untersucht. Braunschweig, 1824.

not that each produced a separate and distinct part, but all in succession added to or modified more or less the works of their predecessors. The earliest of these writers, Ewald supposes, lived in the days of Samson; the next in order belonged to the Solomonic age; while the writer who finally gave to the work its present form, is assigned to the seventh century before Christ.¹ The only remarkable feature in this hypothesis, which sets all literary and historical probabilities at defiance, is the marvellous complacency of its author, who, in the most confident and dictatorial manner, portions off the various sections of the work, and pronounces a summary judgment on all questions respecting the age and authorship of the several parts of the composition, seldom thinking it necessary to assign any reasons beyond what may be found in what he assumes as a critical instinct. Whether it be owing to this or to its inherent extravagance, unsuited to the more correct views on this subject now happily on the increase, the documentary scheme of Ewald has remained exclusively with its author, and has not been appropriated or improved upon by any other writer.

While one class of critics was thus occupied in attempting to damage the character of the Pentateuch by raising questions as to its genuineness, others, and sometimes the same parties, were no less busily engaged in more directly attacking the authenticity of its history,—a matter greatly facilitated could only its Mosaic authorship be disproved. The fact that the Pentateuchal history claimed to be in a great part a contemporary record proved very inconvenient to the German rationalists, who, carrying out the principles of interpretation adopted by Le Clerc, at the close of the seventeenth century, undertook to resolve all the Scripture miracles into natural occurrences, while it was altogether subversive of the mythical scheme, which in its turn soon supplanted the *natural* theory by demonstrating its “unnaturalness.”² In any circumstance it was desirable for the success of either of those theories to get rid if possible of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and refer its composition to a far later period. This would allow time for the exaggeration and embellishment with which

¹ Geschichte, vol. i., p. 173.

² Rawlinson, Bampton Lectures, p. 20.

various portions of the history are charged, and which it is then surmised, must have been the productions of writers possessed only of scanty materials or doubtful traditions of matters which long preceded their own times, and who moreover aimed rather to glorify their country than to give a true relation of facts, being in truth, poets rather than historians.

Such rationalistic writers as Eichhorn, who admitted the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, were greatly perplexed in their application of these principles, as in that case the mythical must be limited to the earlier history of Genesis. Accordingly, in the interpretation of the creation and the fall, Eichhorn¹ had no hesitation in admitting the mythical, though in the history of the Exodus and the wandering in the wilderness, he was forced to fall back on the *natural* theory.² Others however, as De Wette,³ who combated the theory of Eichhorn in respect to the events of the Exodus, did not allow themselves to be so fettered; and the result was, that soon the mythical scheme was no longer confined to the Pentateuch, or even the later historical books of the Old Testament, but was, in the hands of Strauss, applied also to the New Testament Scriptures. On this system it was enough to pronounce the occurrences to which in any case exception was taken, as incredible in the form in which they are related in the history, or so partaking of the marvellous, (though possibly accepted as true by an uncritical and credulous antiquity, just as were the prodigies recorded by Herodotus and Livy,) as no longer to secure an intelligent assent.

Such are the views entertained at present by a large body of Biblical expositors in Germany, as may be seen from the commentaries on Genesis by Von Bohlen, Tuch, Knobel, and others; and that they are finding acceptance in this country will appear from the work of Kalisch on the same subject. That writer does not hesitate to state, that in some instances there is "a heathen element retained in the narrative," and that it is disfigured by errors and contradictions due to the "uncertain sources of tradition;" and he confidently undertakes to correct such mis-statements by the separation of

¹ Urgeschichte, herausgegeben von vol. i. Leip. 1787.

Gabler, Altdorf, 1790-93.

³ Kritik d. Israel. Geschichte, p.

² Eichhorn, Allegemeine Bibliothek, 216, ff.

"the *form* of the narratives from the *ideas* which they embody."¹ To separate the small element of fact from the mythology and fiction in which it is wrapped up in the Biblical history, is indeed the task to which Ewald has set himself in his 'History of the Israelitish people,' already alluded to, and on which Bunsen, a strong sympathizer in the same views, bestows such extravagant praise,² and who on the ground of speculations on Egyptian antiquities, to which those conversant with the subject attach no great value, denies that the history and chronology of the early Scriptures possess almost any truthfulness whatever.

These variously directed assaults on the Mosaic writings and institutions have called forth numerous defences, which although not always silencing opposition, as was not to be expected, have yet been of essential service, as is indicated, if in nothing else, by the frequent changes thereby necessitated in the antagonists' position, and their abandonment of one line of argument after another. This is specially apparent in the history of the "Document" and its kindred hypotheses, but the same also characterises all parts of the controversy, as in almost every instance the old offensive weapons are now blunted or broken. Several essays in defence of the Pentateuch have at various times proceeded from British writers; but they are all more or less directed against the earlier phases of the controversy, and upon the whole, belong to a past state of things. Except indeed only in rare cases, it is not until the enemy has been fairly repulsed in Germany, the home of most of these speculations, that the sound of the conflict reaches Britain. This was particularly exemplified in the recent Straussian controversy; for after the giant had been slain by the learned pens of Germany, the 'Leben Jesu' was produced in an English dress, and by many of its readers pronounced irrefutable. The same phenomenon is not less marked in the controversy now under consideration, for it was only within the last few years that the work of Von Bohlen on Genesis, already characterized, which never enjoyed a high reputation at home, even with the class to which its author belonged, and is now altogether neglected, has been drawn from its ob-

¹ Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis, pp. 172, 687. Lond. 1858. ² Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. i., p. 183. Lond. 1848.

security, to make under high auspices the acquaintance of the English public.¹ The same also holds true, although not to an equal extent, of America, while it is an undeniable fact, that such American writers as adopt these speculations are equally, with British authors of the same class, but poor imitators of their Teutonic masters, and generally satisfied with that phase of the theory which has been already to a great extent abandoned at home. In proof of this, it is only necessary to refer to Theodore Parker's translation of De Wette, Norton's Dissertation on the Old Testament, in his Genuineness of the Gospels, and in this country, to Davidson's Treatise in Horne's Introduction,² although it is of a different character in various respects from either of the works just specified. The only writer who seem to have taken up an independent position on this subject, is an English Churchman, Dr. Donaldson,³ who certainly is not outdone, at least in extravagance, by any German critic from Eichhorn to Ewald, and the theology of whose work is moreover on a level with its criticism.

Of English writers who appeared in defence of the Pentateuch during the present century, but who, as just observed, contended with a past order of things, must be mentioned G. Stanley Faber, who wrote largely on this subject. His '*Horæ Mosaicæ*,' (Lond. 1801, 2nd ed., 1818,) was designed to shew: 1. The credibility of the Pentateuch as a portion of authentic history from its accordance with heathen tradition, and from its internal character; and 2. The connexion of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and Christian Dispensations, viewed as the component parts of one grand and regular system, the economy of grace. This work was followed at a considerable interval by his '*Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations*,' (Lond. 1823,) in which the views of Warburton relative to

¹ Introduction to the Book of Genesis, with a Commentary on the opening portion, from the German of Dr. P. Von Bohlen, edited by J. Heywood, M.P., F.R.S., 2 vols. Lond. 1855.

² See chap. ii. of *Introd: Authorship and date of the Pentateuch*, pp. 593-633. Lond. 1856.

³ *Jasher: Fragmenta archetypa car-*

minum Hebraicorum in Masorethico vet. Testamenti passim tessellata collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, commentario instruxit. J. G. Donaldson, Berlin and Lond. 1854: and also, Christian Orthodoxy reconciled with the conclusions of modern Biblical learning. Lond. 1857.

the state of man from his creation to the promulgation of the Law are examined and refuted. A place is also here due to Dr. John Jamieson,¹ for his 'Two Dissertations; the first on the authenticity of the history contained in the Pentateuch and in the Book of Joshua; the second, proving that the Books ascribed to Moses were actually written by him, and that he wrote them by Divine inspiration.' These, though brief, contained many pertinent remarks, but of course they are now greatly superseded.

Next in order of time follows Graves' 'Lectures on the four last Books of the Pentateuch,' (2nd ed., Lond. 1815,) a work designed to shew the Divine origin of the Jewish religion, chiefly from internal evidence. It consists of three parts: 1. The authenticity and truth of the history. 2. The theological, moral, and political principles of the Jewish law. 3. Review of the effects of Judaism as preparatory to Christianity. To complete the list, so far as English apologists are concerned, there may be added, simply indicating the titles; J. J. Blunt, 'The veracity of the Five Books of Moses, argued from the undesigned coincidences to be found in them, when compared in their several parts;' followed by the same author's 'Principles for the proper understanding of the Mosaic writings.' Of more recent date are the works of Barry² and Hoare.³

Of American writers on this subject, may be mentioned B. B. Edwards of Andover, 'Remarks on the authenticity and genuineness of the Pentateuch.'⁴ Another American writer, Dr. W. Hamilton, has produced 'The Pentateuch and its As-sailants, a refutation of the objections of modern scepticism to the Pentateuch,' (Edin. 1852,) a work containing many valuable observations, but as a whole not satisfactory, and but feebly answering the expectations raised by the title. 'The 'Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon,' by Moses Stuart, (Lond. 1849,) although not limited to the

¹ Use of Sacred History, especially in illustrating and confirming the great doctrines of Revelation, 2 vols. Edin. 1802.

² Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament, part i. Lond. 1856. This treats only of the primeval and patriarchal period.

³ The veracity of the Book of Genesis, with the life and character of the inspired Historian. Lond. 1860.

⁴ Biblioth. Sacra, vol. ii., pp. 356-398, 668-682. The first part is reprinted in the Brit. and For. Evang. Review, vol. ii., pp. 57, 95. Edin. 1853.

Pentateuch, yet deserves mention. It was occasioned by the Treatise of Norton already referred to.

A far higher value attaches to the works of the German apologists on the Pentateuch, although none of them can be said to be free from serious objections, or to take a sufficiently enlarged view of the great question in dispute. In the great majority of cases there is a marked absence of the practical, a great lack of judgment, too, and logical precision; and in others there is only a partial examination of the points controverted—the chief aim of the more recent works on the subject being a defence of the unity of the Pentateuch, as assailed by the critics of the Document-hypothesis. This is no doubt an important subject in the present state of the controversy, but it leaves very much untouched the character of the work.

The Introduction of Jahn,¹ a considerable portion of which is devoted to a defence of the genuineness of the Mosaic writings, is distinguished by thoroughness and learning; but, like the English works already specified, it is now considerably behind the age. This writer is also too ready to admit interpolations in the Pentateuch. While he allows, however, that Genesis, or at least the earlier portion of it, was composed from older documents, he firmly denies the practicability of all attempts to separate them. The remarks of Rosenmüller, in his *Prolegomena* to the *Scholia* on Genesis, though not exhaustive, have, it may be remarked, an interest from the fact of his having formerly held opposite views. But the writer who, more than any, contributed to the overthrow of the Fragment-hypothesis of Vater and De Wette, is F. H. Ranke,² who drew attention to the various minute threads of a chronological and genealogical character, particularly in the book of Genesis, which run through the narrative, linking its parts into one connected whole. Drechsler³ also, and more recently Kurtz,⁴ have rendered eminent service in this department—the latter chiefly in combating the Complement-hypothesis of

¹ *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Bücher d. alten Bundes*, 2te Ausg. Wien, 1803. Th. II. i., pp. 3-154.

² *Untersuchungen üb. den Pentateuch*. 2 vols. Erlang., 1834-40.

³ *Die Einheit u. Aechtheit der Genesis*. Hamb., 1838.

⁴ *Beiträge zur Vertheidigung u. Begründung d. Einheit d. Pentateuches*. Königsb., 1844. *Die Einheit der Genesis*. Ber., 1846.

Tuch. But the highest praise is undoubtedly due to Hengstenberg and Hävernicks, the appearance of whose works was nearly simultaneous, for their labours in this department of critical research. Hengstenberg, in particular, has extended his investigations over a much wider field than that comprised by the document-controversy, and it is in some of these other matters that his results have been most successful.¹ The evidence which he has deduced from some of the earlier prophetic books of the existence of the Pentateuch, clearly places its composition anterior to the time usually assigned to it by the impugnors of its genuineness. Welte,² a Roman Catholic, has treated separately of the alleged traces of a later age than the Mosaic in the Pentateuch, but without adding materially to the results previously reached by Hengstenberg. Others also have discussed special departments, and contributed largely to the elucidation of difficulties connected with the Mosaic writings and Judaism. To some of these special reference will be made in the course of the present work.

Hengstenberg has well pointed out that the vindication of the Pentateuch is a far more comprehensive undertaking than the defence of any work of profane antiquity, and he has given several good suggestions regarding the manner in which an attempt of the kind should be conducted. "The Pentateuch," he observes, "can only be a genuine work if it is a sacred one. If the Jewish faith, in its original construction, was only an abstract of statute laws, on which a political and not a religious institution was founded, then it is all over with the genuineness of the Pentateuch. The result is the same, (which is closely connected with this,) if the symbolical character of the ceremonial law cannot be established, nor shewn to differ only formally from the moral law." Hengstenberg then goes on to shew the necessity of forming correct notions regarding the theology of the Pentateuch. "It is not enough that we barely satisfy all the specific objections, we must be able positively to prove, at the same time, that the law, and the whole character of God, as historically repre-

¹ *Authenticité des Pentateuchs erwiesen*. 2 vols. Berl., 1836-39. E. T., Edin., 1847.

² *Nachmosaisches im Pentateuche*.

sented, is infinitely exalted above anything that reason, left to itself, has ever produced, or ever can produce.”¹

The plan thus sketched by Hengstenberg he has only partially executed. He has produced a collection of learned, and, in part, exhaustive, dissertations on some important topics touching the unity and antiquity of the Mosaic writings, with a concluding dissertation on the “Theology of the Pentateuch in relation to its Genuineness;” but many important points are altogether untouched, and even the subject last mentioned is only partially discussed, at least not with the fulness which its importance merits. These treatises furnish, however, much valuable material for the construction of a more regular and connected work, and fully justify their title: ‘Beiträge,’ or, ‘Contributions to an Introduction to the Old Testament.’ The most unsatisfactory portion of the work, it may be observed, is the discussion on “the names of God in the Pentateuch,” which is conducted on principles utterly arbitrary, and consequently leading to no satisfactory results.

The work of Hävernicks² is, in many respects, of a totally different description from that of Hengstenberg. It forms a portion of a larger work, intended to comprise the whole of the Old Testament, but left unfinished at the author's death. That which is occupied with the Pentateuch is the first part of the special Introduction. An improved edition has recently been issued by Keil, who previously finished the entire work, and who has also published a compendious Introduction to the Old Testament, in which, as might have been anticipated from his Expositions of Joshua and of the Books of Kings, he has shewn himself to be an able and uncompromising defender of the genuineness of the Mosaic writings. The original work of Hävernicks appeared prior to Tuch's modification of the Document-hypothesis, but in the new edition by Keil the whole question is presented in its latest aspect. The work is occupied almost exclusively with the discussion of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, entering particularly into the indications presented by the work itself, corroborative of its more direct testimony regarding its author, and into the positive

¹ Authentic, E. T., vol. i., pp. 64. 65. lang., 1837. I. ii., 143-644. 2te Aufl.,
² Handbuch der historisch-kritischen 1856. E. T., Edin. 1850.
 Einleitung in d. Alte Testament, Er-

evidence for the unity of the production. The historical credibility is also treated in a careful and regular examination of all the great sectional divisions of the Pentateuch, concluding with testimonies to its early existence from numerous references to it throughout the other books of the Old Testament. This last particular is not so minutely examined as it has been by Hengstenberg, but is more general and comprehensive. However, there can be no question that this is a more complete and methodical, as it is also a more compact performance than that of Hengstenberg, already described; but it is defective in many essential points, which Hengstenberg has correctly declared to be indispensable to any work which aims to establish in a satisfactory manner the genuineness, and particularly the authority, of the Mosaic writings. Being expressly limited to historical and critical investigations, little or nothing is said on the various important questions which relate to the moral and religious character of the Pentateuch—a circumstance which must be considered a serious defect in discussions of this sort, as it leaves untouched the main source, however it may be disguised, of the hostility manifested against all Scripture, though at times it may be directed more particularly against certain parts of the Sacred Record.

Before concluding this survey of the chief attacks which have been made on the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, and of the defences which have been thereby called forth, it will be necessary to state briefly, by way of deduction from the character of the controversy as thus partially exhibited, the general grounds on which it appears these varied and long continued attacks are founded, and also the precise bearing of the various disputed points on the character of the work thus impugned.

De Wette¹ himself, in his brief notice of the objections which have, from an early period, been urged against the Mosaic writings, divides them into two classes—the dogmatic, as those of the Clementines, Nazarenes, and Ptolemy, and the historico-critical which he claims for modern times. Closer examination, however, will shew that those two classes of objections

¹ Einleitung, § 164, p. 205.

have much in common, both as regards their origin and the mode whereby they would effect their ends. The dogmatic disputants, whether of earlier or of more recent times, have not hesitated to avail themselves of what they considered difficulties or contradictions in regard to matters of fact, and so have mixed up historical arguments with their dogmatic doubts, in order to give them additional weight. And if again the critical objectors of the present day are on the contrary more ready with historical arguments for subverting the authority of the Pentateuch, they have, it will be found, other reasons in reserve—dogmatic objections fully as unreasonable as those of any heretic of ancient times, but over which a vaunting profession of impartiality would fain draw a veil. The slightest acquaintance with the history of this controversy will shew that it presents no exception to the general rule observable in such cases, that a mistaken creed is in a great measure responsible for a false criticism, whether in matters of religion or philosophy, and whether its error consists in excess or defect of belief in superstition or scepticism. Men first sit in judgment on the character of the work, and then proceed to argue about its credentials. Arguments and objections are thus readily cherished, and in fact contrived, in disproof of the genuineness and authority of any portion of Scripture against which some prejudice is entertained. For some reason or other a desire is felt, if possible, to get rid of the authority of the work, and in these circumstances, arguments, it is usually found, are speedily available.

A principal ground of opposition to the Pentateuch is a negation of the supernatural, or disbelief in a personal God, and any direct communications from Him to mankind, such as are presented in the history of primeval man, of the patriarchs and of the Israelites in general. An unbelief of this kind strikes of course at the root of all divine revelation. De Wette, indeed, avowed that the principle of mythical interpretation carried by him through the Pentateuch must also, of necessity, be applied to the New Testament, and this is no more than consistency to the theory requires, however much some may fancy that they can abandon all belief in the writings of Moses, and yet retain unimpaired faith in Him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote. The disciples of Strauss are

certainly far more consistent, who carry out De Wette's canon of interpretation to its legitimate conclusions. It need, however, be only remarked that, with such a preconception, however cherished, which concludes revelation and prophecy to be utterly impossible, there can be no occasion for critical or historical arguments to prove the spuriousness of a work like the Pentateuch, which advances such express claims to a divine origin, and contains so many predictions of the future.

Add to this, as also largely contributing to the opposition manifested to the Pentateuch, as indeed to Scripture in general, the absence of true convictions of sin ; as when the nature and reality of sin are denied, or the power of it is unfelt. In respect to no particular is the teaching of the Pentateuch more full and explicit than of the existence and deadly nature of sin. Not only its history but also all its institutions gave testimony against sin. All its sacrifices, washings, and sprinklings with water and blood testified to the prevalence of sin, and to the necessity for its expiation. No wonder, then, that wherever sin is unfelt or unacknowledged, all such rites and ceremonies should appear childish or absolutely meaningless, and so not only lacking all evidence of a Divine institution, but utterly opposed to the conceptions entertained in such cases of the relation in which man stands to God ; just as by many the great sacrifice typified by those Pentateuchal rites is deemed "foolishness."

Closely associated with this disbelief in the reality of sin, and indeed arising from it, is an aversion to the holiness and righteousness which mark the character of God given in the Old Testament. "To an age which," Hengstenberg remarks, "views sin as a necessary dowry of human nature, as a negative sort of good, as the condition of virtue—the holiness and righteousness of God must be an object of aversion. Men must try, at any rate, to get rid of a history in which these qualities are conspicuous. Jehovah, the high and holy One, who visits the sins of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generation, changes Himself into the wrathful God of the Jews, and, as long as the Pentateuch is genuine, and its contents historically true, this Jehovah is the God of heaven and earth, the enemy and judge of sin, even in the present generation. For that God is holy and righteous, is not a mere

doctrine of the Pentateuch (to subvert which it might be thought sufficient to charge it on the *rude conceptions* of the Mosaic age), but the doctrine has its foundation in the history; God's holiness and righteousness are revealed in a succession of acts, and must hence be real as long as these are allowed to have occurred."¹

Besides these more active principles which lead to the rejection of the Scriptural claims in general, much of the opposition, or as it may be termed in this instance, neglect of or indifference to the Pentateuch, and indeed to the whole of the Old Testament, on the part of other than avowed unbelievers in revelation, but which, as circumstances favour, or occasion requires, is not unfrequently converted into active hostility, may be traced to a very prevalent ignorance regarding the character of the Older dispensation and its relation to the New. Many who profess a firm belief in the New Testament Scriptures do not hesitate to speak contemptuously of the Old Testament, as the record of an imperfect and now antiquated dispensation;² as if the truths of God could ever become antiquated by their principles being drawn out and more clearly revealed. And not only so, but they fancy that they are honouring and confirming the Gospel by placing it in utter antagonism to the Old Testament. Such theorists imagine that as Patriarchism has passed away, and as Judaism has been abrogated, they, as Christians, have but little concern with the history of the one dispensation, or the institutions of the other. Thus, by deeming it useless to bestow any amount of attention on matters of so little personal or practical consideration as, in their estimation, a volume of obsolete precepts, they virtually deny all connexion between the Pentateuch and the Gospel; and not only declare the ancient oracles of God a dead letter, but at the same time remove the only foundation on which the Gospel historically rests, and therewith the chief arguments by which the claims of Jesus to be recognised as the promised Messiah and Saviour of the world can be established.

¹ Authentic, E. T., vol. i., pp. 43, 44.

² See, *e. g.*, Baden Powell, (*Christianity without Judaism*, Lond. 1857), all whose energies were untiringly di-

rected to the disparagement of the Old Testament, and especially the Mosaic dispensation.

It is easy to see to what results all such prejudices must conduct, and to estimate the value to be attached to conclusions so reached. They cannot obviously be regarded as the free conclusions of an earnest and honest inquiry after truth, but rather as the forced utterances of a perverted criticism led by a prejudiced imagination. To dignify with the name of criticism or any other science this mode of dealing with Scripture and its evidence, would be an utter abuse of the term, seeing that all scientific principles are made to yield unhesitatingly to the exigencies of the theory, whenever an arbitrary supposition affords an easy escape from the difficulties of the case. This can be at once satisfactorily established by an examination of the works of any of the great rationalistic authorities who have occupied themselves with the question of the genuineness of the Pentateuch; and various examples in confirmation will be adduced when discussing the question of its unity. In the meantime, enough will appear to authorise this judgment, from the following remarks on the precise bearing of the disputed points on the authority of the Pentateuch, and on the general character and classification of the arguments employed for that purpose.

The first great disputed point is the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The arguments by which it is sought to disprove the Pentateuch being the work of Moses, are of various kinds; the more important of which are that it bears evident traces, in variations of style and thought, of being the production not of one, but of several writers, and in its references to later events, and of an age long subsequent to that of Moses. The older objectors relied chiefly on these alleged anachronisms, but since the rise of the document-hypothesis, these occupy only a subordinate place, and are merely auxiliary to the main argument arising from the diversities of style, repeated accounts of the same transactions, and contradictions alleged to be found in the work, serving to betray its varied and disjointed structure. But along with what may be admitted as strictly critical arguments, others of a totally different character are not unfrequently mixed up in various ways. These, it may be remarked, at least supply a motive for referring the composition of the Pentateuch to a much later

date, and also, it may be added, form, not unusually, one of the chief arguments.

The denial of whatever bears the character of miraculous or prophetic is with many a sufficient reason, as already remarked, for the rejection of the Pentateuch, or the denial of its genuineness. First, as regards miracles. The strongest testimony to the extraordinary character of numerous occurrences recorded in the Pentateuch, (as the Exodus, the passage of the Red Sea, and the varied provision made for the Israelites in the wilderness, being the circumstance already adverted to), that the record claims to be contemporaneous with these transactions, and is represented as communicated to eye-witnesses, who, it must be supposed, would readily detect any exaggeration or embellishment in the description, it is therefore found desirable to neutralize as much as possible all testimony of this kind, by transferring the composition of the work to a much later period. In this manner time is gained sufficient to have procured, it is alleged, for these narratives, the miraculous, or as it is deemed, the mythical character which they exhibit. So also with regard to prophecy. As many passages of the Pentateuch bear unequivocal reference to a more or less distant future; and as in some cases they are too closely interwoven with the composition to admit of being held as interpolations, there is no alternative with such as deny prophecy, but to transfer the origin of the whole work to a period subsequent to the latest of these announcements. And here the arbitrary character of the tests employed strikingly shews itself from the conflicting conclusions arrived at.

According to this rule of "*vaticinia post eventum*," the Pentateuch must, in the opinion of some of the critics, date after the reign of Saul, because in the promises made to the patriarchs, there is a reference to kings, as descending from them, while other passages again, having a prophetic aspect, could not, according to other theorists, have been written prior to the disruption of the kingdom. This is a great principle in Ewald's theory for determining the relative ages of the numerous compositions constituting the present Pentateuch. Thus, the oldest portion, styled by Ewald, the "*Book of the Covenant*," must have been written in the time of Samson, on the ground that the statement in Genesis xlix. 16, &c., regarding Dan: "*Dan shall judge his people: Dan is a serpent on the*

way," &c., can have been drawn only from the history of that hero.¹ Others ascribe the whole of the last address of Jacob to various later periods. Tuch, to the time of Samuel; Gesenius, to that of the division of the kingdoms; but Knobel holds that for the view of Gesenius there is no foundation, as the composition contains no trace of that jealousy between Judah and Ephraim which broke out so strongly after Solomon's death; and yet, on the other hand, the recent Jewish expositor Kalisch refers it to the time of the divided empire, with the earlier period of which the whole spirit, and every single trait completely agree.²

The denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in any case, but particularly if its composition be assigned to times long subsequent to the Hebrew lawgiver, involves, it must be evident, most serious consequences to its divine authority. It is indeed exceedingly doubtful whether, if such a position were established, its claims could be at all entertained. But it is unnecessary to enter here into any discussion with regard to this particular, as the subversion of the divine authority of the Pentateuch, is, by implication or avowedly, the ulterior object which the opponents of its genuineness have usually in view, though some, it may be admitted, content themselves with the first of these objects. But, on the other hand, a denial of the divine authority of the Pentateuch may be accompanied with the full admission of its Mosaic authorship. For although, no doubt, such an admission greatly detracts from the arguments available to the objectors, yet there is no such necessary connexion between the Pentateuch being the work of Moses, and its divine authority, as in the opposite case, and when its genuineness is denied.

In such circumstances, however, the opponents of the divine origin and authority of what they admit to be a Mosaic production, rest their case chiefly on dogmatic considerations. For instance, they take their stand on the ground that many actions attributed to God by the writer of the Pentateuch, are derogatory to the divine character. Thus, God is represented as commanding or sanctioning various matters which, in the view of the objectors, seem opposed to natural and moral in-

¹ *Geschichte des V. Israel*, vol. i., p. 92.

² *Hist. and Crit. Commentary on Genesis*, 724. Lond. 1858.

stincts, as the command given to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, to the Israelites to rob, as it is termed, the Egyptians, and to exterminate the Canaanites, with various other matters, in the view of the objectors of an equally questionable character. Further, it is held as being no less derogatory to right conceptions of God to represent Him as entering into such peculiar relations as He is stated to have formed with the Israelitish nation, instituting and imposing with such solemnity, and under such threatenings for any breach of it, a ritual so burdensome and unmeaning. Accordingly, with the view of avoiding such imputations on the divine character as these and other doubtful incidents and ordinances are thus supposed to countenance, it is maintained by many that there is a necessity, arising from morality and natural religion, and still more from the principles of the Gospel, to strip the Pentateuch history and economy of much of that divine sanction to which it lays claim.¹ On these and other grounds, it is contended by these self-constituted defenders of virtue and the Gospel, that the early history must partake largely of the mythical, and that much, if not the whole of the Hebrew economy could have been nothing else than a contrivance of Moses or some subsequent prophet to restrain the idolatrous propensities of a rude and sensuous people, and that a religious sanction was only adopted in order to give it sufficient authority.

The above are only the more salient points in this controversy; but they are sufficient to indicate its value and the character of the weapons employed for overthrowing the credibility of the Mosaic writings—a portion of Scripture against which, it may be said, more than any other, all the powers of irreligion and infidelity have been long and most vigorously combined, and the defence of which is as necessary for the vindication of Christianity and the New Testament, as it was for the establishment of Judaism itself. But if there be any-

¹ Thus Baden Powell: "It cannot be denied that, in the Old Testament history and institutions, we find repeated instances of what cannot be reconciled to our ideas of moral right, or to what is now known to be truth and matter-of-fact. But if, in any declaration or

institution, we find that which now appears to be untrue, unjust, unworthy of supreme goodness, or at variance with the highest standard of purity and holiness, it seems impossible to accept it as really divine."—Christianity without Judaism, p. 79.

thing more obvious than another in the preceding brief notice of the various questions raised on this subject, it is the evidence afforded of their ever-varying character—the arguments and objections of to-day almost invariably giving place to those of to-morrow, notwithstanding the confidence with which they were originally proposed, and the laboured criticisms by which they were recommended. This very circumstance, of itself, offers much encouragement to the friends and defenders of the cause assailed; but it at the same time imposes on them the necessity of preparing for every new attack. The apologies for the Bible of an older date, however able, will, in general, now no longer suffice. New arguments have been found for assailing its earlier portions more particularly, and these must be met by adequate replies. There is one hopeful consideration, fully borne out by the experience of the past, that, in all similar emergencies, such replies are not long wanting, and it may be confidently affirmed, that if in the present day, more than any preceding period, there is a necessity for new defences, never were there such ample materials provided for their construction, and gathered too from the most unexpected quarters, even such as seemed for a time, especially in the estimation of the opponents themselves, utterly to discredit the Mosaic records. The better informed believer, however, was sustained under the most trying circumstances, by a confidence as to the issue of those very appeals to history and science from which the enemies of revelation predicted such success, and the results hitherto attained, it may be safely averred, show that such confidence was, to say the very least, not unwarranted.

SECTION III. THE OBJECT AND PLAN OF THE PRESENT WORK.

The term “Introduction,” as applied to Scripture, is variously used by Biblical critics. By some it is understood to embrace whatever tends to illustrate the Bible as a literary and historical composition; but by others, especially the more recent writers on the subject, the term is more strictly limited to the consideration of questions chiefly affecting the genuineness

and authenticity of the several books composing the Canon. From an Introduction such as the present, which is confined simply to the Pentateuch, all discussions of a general nature are of course excluded; but for reasons which must partly be apparent from the nature of the controversy noticed in the preceding section, and now to be more fully stated, an inquiry into the genuineness and credibility of this portion of Scripture in particular, requires to be based on a wider foundation than is adopted by those writers who limit themselves to what is styled the historico-critical line of argument to the neglect wholly or in part of dogmatic considerations, which ever insensibly enter into discussions of this kind, and give their chief force to the objections raised against Scripture in general.

To limit the inquiry to the critical and historical evidences which either in one way or another affect the character of such a work as the Pentateuch, leaves its credibility and other questions respecting its claims to a Divine authority very much untouched. It is necessary to examine not only its historical credentials, but also the nature of its contents. To neglect this latter part of the inquiry, would be in a great measure to lose sight of the specific ends intended to be subserved by the particular acts recorded in the history, and so would give an advantage to the opponents, especially in respect of the supernatural, and fail to meet objections from that quarter, which to many minds have a more formidable appearance than anything of a merely critical nature. Besides, as noticed above, dogmatic doubts and prejudices constitute even directly, however some of the modern critics, in their claims to a philosophic impartiality or indifference, may deny it, the very foundation of the opposition directed against the Pentateuch, and supply some of the chief arguments in the controversy, the consideration of which, it is often felt, has been hitherto too much neglected.¹

But it is important to mark the precise relation which

¹ Moses Stuart, after remarking that most of the objections of Norton to the Old Testament belong to the province of polemic and apologetic theology, adds, "I shall therefore leave them to

those whose proper business it is to act in this department. Why they have not sooner begun to act in defence of one of the citadels of revelation, I know not."—Old Test. Canon. § i. p. 10.

these two parts of the inquiry bear to one another and to the claim which the Scriptures prefer to a divine origin.

Let it at the outset be distinctly understood that the Pentateuch, or any other portion of Scripture, as an historical production claims no exemption whatever from the canons, critical and historical, to which all other literary and historical works are amenable, and by which their genuineness is to be tested. But then it presents itself with a claim to be regarded as having a higher than human origin; and it submits, at the same time, evidence in attestation of that claim. Now it must appear exceedingly unreasonable that, without inquiry, and on the bare assumption that there have never been direct communications from God to man, or that such are impossible, the evidences furnished by the Pentateuch in favour of its divine origin, should be adduced as a proof that it could not have been written by Moses, or any other of that age; and that it should be summarily condemned on this and other points, as if professedly of human origin. Thus, many of the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, assuming at once its human origin, and consequently, that its views with respect both to the past and the future must be confined within the limited horizon which they have been pleased to assign to it, pronounce it spurious, if any of its statements or views do not conform to their standard, or stretch beyond the point to which their theory had antecedently fixed it. In this way, and as regards the past, they deny the value of the early history of Genesis, while any intimations which it may contain respecting the future, are, upon the same theory, declared to be unmistakable indications of a subsequent age, and so to be conclusive against the genuineness or Mosaic authorship of the work.

This mode of reasoning is not very appropriate in judging of the character of even human productions, or such as advance no other claim. But however legitimate it may be in ordinary cases, it must be totally inapplicable wherever a professedly divine revelation is concerned. How largely prejudices of this kind have conduced to the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, may be seen from the preceding section. Such principles as those just referred to, do not of course submit to the laws of critical and historical proof; and accordingly, evi-

dence of that kind can avail nothing against scepticism of this description. Revelation demands only a fair hearing, and the Pentateuch claiming to be a record of the earliest communications of the Divine will to man, in that and in no other light submits its credentials to examination. On that simple and not unreasonable condition, it does submit to criticism. It requires no blind faith in its claims to be regarded as the word of God ; but only an intelligent assent to the authority of evidence. That, however, having been found satisfactory, —and it is only on that point man is in any way a competent judge—it is not too much to expect that the revelation so attested should be tried not according to man's pre-conceptions of what was in any case befitting the divine character to do, or what God might have deemed to be absolutely worthy of being made a matter of revelation, or other special notice and arrangement, but according to the purposes immediate and remote, some of them known only to himself, which the Omniscient may have entertained with respect to the revelation and economy embodied in the Pentateuch, or any other portion of Sacred writ.

There is no rule, however, which is more frequently and flagrantly violated than this. The oldest, and still the most common objections to the Mosaic writings and economy are founded on misconceptions of this kind ; and some of which, when carefully examined, will be found to arise from arrangements and ordinances, the nature and purpose of which have been utterly misunderstood, because contemplated from a point of view quite different from that in which it was intended they should be regarded. Some of these arrangements, so far from presenting anything objectionable, on the contrary, furnish, when looked at in the light of Scripture, and as part of the wonderful economy which is its great subject, indications of a most wise adaptation of means to ends. This is a part of the subject too much neglected by writers on this subject, but there is probably none which might be made productive of more valuable results, not only in an apologetic, but in various other aspects.

The general features of the controversy with respect to the Pentateuch, as appears from the preceding section, are, first,

the denial of its being a production of Moses, or of that age, and secondly, the denial of its divine authority: the latter being sometimes accompanied with an admission of the Mosaic authorship, but generally the reverse of this is the case. The authority of the Pentateuch, it might at first be supposed, is not so much affected by the denial of its Mosaic authorship, as by the more direct attack on its divine character, but the latter question is in fact very much involved in the former; for whatever tends to transfer the origin of the work to a time subsequent to that of Moses, besides directly reducing the evidence on which its credibility can be maintained, by exhibiting an antagonism with some of its own express statements, calls in question the veracity of Christ and His apostles, who not only tacitly acknowledged, but expressly confirmed, the belief of their Jewish countrymen, that the Pentateuch was the work of their lawgiver, Moses.

Two almost equally important questions have thus to be considered:—First, is the Pentateuch, either entirely or in part, the work of Moses? The examination of the critical and historical evidence bearing on this point will, it is conceived, be best arranged under the following heads; i. The unity of the Pentateuch; showing it, in opposition to the various forms of the Document-hypothesis, to be the work of one author. ii. Its antiquity; proving it to be a production of the Mosaic age. iii. Its authorship; showing it to be, with the exception of the last section, which records the death of Moses, and which, when it was viewed as an original and integral part of the work, greatly perplexed some of the earlier writers, the genuine production of the lawgiver himself. The next question will be:—What authority is due to the Pentateuch, whether that of Moses himself, or of God, whose agent he invariably represented himself to be in all his ordinances and institutions? So far as this can be answered by historical evidence and collateral considerations, it will come under the next two heads: iv. The credibility of the Pentateuch as regards the non-miraculous part of the history, proved from its relation to, and the confirmation which it derives from profane history and the Hebrew monuments; and v. Its credibility as regards the miraculous incidents of the history proved from the success of the Mosaic mission.

The remaining portion of this first book will be devoted

to a view of the divisions, contents and general characteristics of the Pentateuch and its several parts, followed by a chapter giving the titles of the chief exegetical and expository helps to the study of this portion of Scripture; while the second book will take up the various topics connected with the genuineness and credibility of the Pentateuch, in the order above indicated.

For rendering, however, that part of the investigation which respects the authority of the Pentateuch complete, and also on account of the intrinsic importance of the subject itself, the third book will be assigned to an examination of its design as a revelation of God, and the basis of, or as embodying a national polity—its various bearings as exhibited in its theology and law on the Israelites in their theocratic relation, as also on the scheme by which the theocracy has been formally superseded. The chief subjects to be considered in this connexion are, i. The various ends of the Pentateuch. ii. Its chief end the revelation of God. iii. Man, the object and chief medium of that revelation—the intimations respecting his redemption, embracing, iv. The plan thereof, v. The person of the Redeemer; and, as a further end of the Pentateuchal economy, vi. The separation, conservation and training of a people for being the medium of redemption; and vii. The relation of the Pentateuch and its economy to the New Testament.

This investigation will, it is hoped, furnish not only additional evidence of the genuineness and authenticity of the record intrusted to the keeping of the Israelitish people, and by which their entire polity was to be regulated, but also indubitable testimony to its divine character, from its adaptation to the ends which it contemplated, and its relation to the subsequent and fuller disclosures of the plan of redemption in the Gospel. The discussion of the various subjects will, moreover, as far as possible, be so conducted as to constitute the present work a contribution to the interpretation of the Pentateuch, as well as to its defence—subjects very intimately connected. While calling attention to objections founded on difficulties as to statements in the history or legislation, suggestions for their explanation will possess more than an apologetic value, for some of these statements often occasion embarrassing perplexities, even when no doubts are entertained with respect to the genuineness or authority of the record.

The attempt, in the latter part of the discussion, to follow out in historical order the great principles of the Bible, from their first appearance in the writings and institutions of Moses, through the period which these writings embrace, may contribute to a better understanding of the particular forms which the history and legislation have been made to assume, and without a correct perception of the object of which both are apt to appear disproportioned to the particular subjects with which they are concerned. Educing, however, in the manner proposed, the great lessons which the history in its successive stages, and the institutions of the law were intended to teach, will call into requisition those principles of interpretation through the right exercise of which alone safe and satisfactory conclusions are to be attained.

CHAPTER II.

THE NAMES, DIVISIONS, AND CONTENTS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Leusden, *Philologus Hebræus*, Dissert. iv., v., pp. 22-33. Ultraj. 1657. Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus*, Lib. ii., c. 1, § 1, pp. 454-460, ed. 3ia. Tiguri. 1696. Carpzov, *Introductio ad Libros can. Vet. Testamenti*, P. i., cap. iii.-viii., pp. 38-145, ed. 4ta. Lips. 1757. Horne, *Introduction to the Crit. Study of the Holy Scriptures*, vol. iv., pt. i., chap. i., pp. 1-28. 5th ed., Lond. 1825.

THE Hebrew name for this first and most important division of the Old Testament Scriptures, according to the Jewish canon is **הַתּוֹרָה**, or more fully **סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה**, "The Law," or "The Book of the Law;" the latter form occurring in the work itself, (Deut. xxxi. 26, comp. xxviii. 61; xxix. 20; xxx. 10.) This designation, taken from the nature of the contents, is strictly applicable only to a part thereof, though, as being the principal part, it was without any impropriety extended to the whole. But in respect to its chief component parts, it was styled by Rabbinical writers **הַמִּשְׁנָה הַחֲמִישִׁי הַתּוֹרָה**, "the five-fifths of the law," or simply **הַחֲמִישִׁי** while **הַחֲמִישִׁי** again denoted a single book.¹ The corresponding Greek names are *ὁ νόμος* and *πεντά τευχος* from *πέντε* and *τεῦχος*, which in the later Alexandrian idiom signifies *a volume*.

The five-fold division indicated by the Rabbinic and the more common Greek designations, if not original, must have been of very ancient date, as it was known to Josephus and Philo. Some critics, as Leusden,² and recently Hävernicks,³ ascribe it to the LXX., on the ground that the titles of the separate books are Greek, the present Hebrew titles being at first only those of single sections of the law. Against this view, however, is the five-fold division of the Psalms, which in all

¹ Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus*, p. 456.

² *Philologus Hebræus*, p. 31.

³ *Einleitung*, I., ii., p. 156.

probability, is in imitation of the Pentateuch. But more decisive is the evidence furnished by the work itself.¹ Evidently it was the author's purpose to commence a new part in Exodus. This appears not only from the marked diversity of the subject, but chiefly from the recapitulation with which that work begins. Leviticus is, in like manner, separated from Exodus by the diversity of its subject, and again from Numbers by its concluding subscription. Deuteronomy, again, both in character and contents, occupies a place apart from the other books, concluding with the death of Moses, through whom the Theocracy had been established, as Genesis, which was devoted to the preparatory history, closed with the death of Jacob and Joseph. It is important to notice this marked conclusion of Deuteronomy and of the whole Pentateuch, and its consequent separation from the subsequent post-Mosaic history, because of the attempts made to connect it with the Book of Joshua, for the purpose of assigning the composition of the whole to a period later than the Mosaic age.

Deferring consideration of the separate books of the Pentateuch, their names and characteristics, to the sections of this chapter appropriated to the respective books, there are various minor divisions of which notice must be here taken.

First, there is the division of the whole text into 669 sections, called פְּרָשִׁיּוֹת, headed by the letters פ or ס, abbreviations of פְּתוּחָה and סְתוּמָּה respectively. The former denoted that the section was *open*, and so commenced with a new line, the latter that it was *closed*, and so began on the same line already partly occupied with the termination of the preceding section.² It is doubtful what was the specific use of this distinction. The *open* sections may have been intended to mark the greater divisions of the subjects successively treated of, while the *closed* sections may have denoted the most natural paragraphs in the larger divisions. There is at least some indication of this in the fact that the former sections are much longer than the others.³ There are moreover larger sections, to the number

¹ Delitzsch, die Genesis, p. 18. Keil, 22-23. Carpzov, Critica Sacra, p. 145. Einleitung, § 20, p. 65. Frankf. a M. Lips. 1748.

1853, and his edition of Hävernick, p. 14.

³ Davidson, Biblical Criticism, vol. i.

² Leusden, Philologicus Hebræus, pp. p. 57. Edinr. 1852.

of fifty-four, corresponding to the Sabbaths of the Jewish intercalary year. The object of this division was to facilitate the reading of the Pentateuch in the course of the year in the synagogues and public assemblies, (see Acts xv. 21.) When these larger divisions coincide with the smaller sections they are headed פפפ or ססס, according as they are open or close.¹

In the Jewish Canon the Pentateuch held a prominent place, as the Book of the Covenant and national constitution. It was kept distinct from the other books of the Old Testament, constituting a division by itself in the classification, "The Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa," (פְּתוּכִים *writings*,²) or as in Luke xxiv. 44, "The Psalms." This distinction was due to it as forming the basis of the religion, and the whole theocratic life of the Hebrews. It was the foundation too of their national law, and the safeguard of personal rights and immunities, as also of such as respected property, its tenure and transmission. The place which the Pentateuch thus occupied in the concerns of public and private life, made it incumbent on the people at large to be familiar with its contents. Hence the charge for its being read publicly (Deut. xxxi. 11-13;) and as an acquaintance with it was especially requisite for the chief ruler, there was an enactment, that on his accession to the throne, the king should transcribe a copy of the law for his own private use, from the original work in the keeping of the priests, (Deut. xvii. 18, 19.) The reading of the law was in the later period of Jewish history, and in the synagogue worship, (Acts xv. 21,) and probably from the time of Ezra, carefully attended to.

¹ In Mark xii. 26, (comp. Luke xx. 37,) a passage is quoted from Exod. iii., with the designation ἐπὶ τοῦ βάλου, meaning *in the section* containing the history of God's appearance *in the bush*, (Cf. Olshausen *in loc.*) evidence of the

antiquity of the method of designating the sections of the law from the contents or chief topic.

² Hottinger, Thesaurus Philologicus p. 455.

SECT. I.—THE FIRST BOOK OF THE PENTATEUCH,—GENESIS.

§ 1. *Its Name and Contents.*

The first Book of the Pentateuch and of the Bible, is named in the Hebrew Canon בְּרֵאשִׁית. “In the beginning,” from the term with which it commences, as in like manner the other divisions of the Pentateuch are denominated either from their initial or first specific words, and by the LXX., Γένεσις, in the sense as well, and indeed chiefly, of “origination,” or “production,” as of its more common Biblical acceptation of “generation,” or genealogy, as in Matt. i. 1. The Greek title is exceedingly appropriate to the contents of this book which is seen to be truly a *genesis* as well of the material universe, “the heavens and earth,” (Gen. i. 1,) as of man and of all history; a genesis too of sin, so far as man is concerned, but not less also of salvation through a promised Redeemer, (chap. iii). But more particularly, this book is an account of the ancestry and origin of the Hebrew nation, the chosen seed of Abraham, in their character of the divinely designated channels of redemption to the human race fallen in Adam, the father of mankind.

Genesis consists of two great but closely connected parts. The contents of the first division constitute a general introduction to the sacred volume, but more particularly to the history which forms the subject of the second part of the work; and may be arranged according to the following synopsis.

I. THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION AND THE HUMAN RACE TO THE CALL OF ABRAHAM, THE FATHER OF THE ISRAELITISH NATION—Chap. i.-xi., viz. :—

A general history of the creation (i.-ii. 3); a more detailed account of the creation of man, the provision made for him, and the law under which he was placed (ii. 4-25); man's violation of that law; the consequences of his transgression; with the Divine intimation of a recovery (iii.); commencement of the history of fallen humanity through the propagation of the race, which is seen to consist morally of two classes; but without prejudice to the Divine promise of redemption (iv.). This last particular confirmed by the genealogy of Adam, in the line of Seth, down to Noah (v.), in whose time the corruption of mankind reached such a degree as called down Heaven's judgment, which, while destroying the wicked, saved a godly seed for re-peopling the earth (vi.-ix.);

the descendants of the family thus saved, and their dispersion, in order to the re-peopling of the earth (x., xi.).

II. THE HISTORY OF ABRAHAM, TO WHICH CHAP. XI. 27-32, IS THE SPECIAL INTRODUCTION, AND OF THE OTHER HEBREW PATRIARCHS DOWN TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH, INCLUDING NOTICES OF ABRAHAM'S AND ISAAC'S DESCENDANTS IN THE COLLATERAL LINES—Chaps. xii.-l., viz. :—

1. History of Abraham, his Divine call, and his journey to Canaan, accompanied by his kinsman, Lot (xii. 1-5); his journeyings in that land, and descent into Egypt (xii. 6-20); his return to Canaan, and separation from Lot, who removed towards Sodom (xiii.); invasion of the land; Lot taken captive, but rescued by Abraham, who pursued and defeated the invaders; Abraham's interview with Melchizedek (xiv.); renewal and enlargement of the Divine promises to Abraham (xv.); birth of his son Ishmael by Hagar (xvi.); further Divine communications with the patriarch, (xvii., xviii.); destruction of Sodom, and deliverance of Lot through Abraham's intercession, with a notice of Lot's posterity (xix.); further incidents in Abraham's history (xx.); birth of Isaac by Sarah (xxi.); trial of Abraham by the call to sacrifice Isaac (xxii.); Sarah's death (xxiii.); Isaac's marriage (xxiv.); Abraham's death (xxv. 10).

2. History of Isaac, with brief introductory notice of Ishmael and his sons (xv. 12-18); birth of Isaac's two sons, Esau and Jacob (xxv. 19-34); Isaac's sojourn in Gerar (xxvi. 1-22); his return to Beersheba; Jacob furtively obtains the patriarchal blessing (xxvi. 23—xxvii.). [Isaac's death, xxxv. 28, 29.]¹

3. Jacob's history, from his departure for Mesopotamia; Divine promises made to him on the journey (xxviii.); his arrival at Haran, the residence of his uncle Laban; his marriages and issue (xxix.-xxx. 24); his desires for home, and journey thither (xxx. 25—xxxiii.); troubles and dissensions in Jacob's family (xxxiv., xxxv., xxxvii. 1-11). [This part of the narrative interrupted by the genealogy of Esau, xxxvi.]

4. Joseph's history, and the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt; Jacob's affliction for his son Joseph (xxxvii. 12-36); [Judah's incest, xxxviii.] Joseph's removal as a slave to Egypt; his imprisonment (xxxix.-xl.); his promotion at the Egyptian court (xli.); his brothers' journeys to Egypt to purchase corn, on account of a famine (xlii.-xlv.); removal of Jacob and family to, and settlement in Egypt (xlvi.-xlviii.); Jacob's blessing on his sons (xlix.); his death and burial; and death of Joseph (l.)

There is another division of Genesis, designated by the

¹ Isaac lived to the age of 180 years, and yet, when only 137, he expected to die soon, (Gen. xxvii. 1.)—an anticipation shared in by Esau and Rebekah, (ver. 41, 45). This is explained by the

fact, that Isaac had now reached the age at which his brother Ishmael died, (xxv. 17).—Brown, *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 310. Lond., 1844.

superscriptions at the heads of various sections—אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת, or זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת, “These are the generations,” or “This is the book of the generations.” These sections are ten in number:—

1. The generations of the heavens and the earth (ii. 4-iv.), the portion which preceded this title being viewed as a general introduction.
2. The generations of Adam (v.-vi. 8).
3. The generations of Noah (vi. 9-ix. 29).
4. The generations of the sons of Noah (x.-xi. 9).
5. The generations of Shem (xi. 10-26).
6. The generations of Terah (xi. 27-xxv. 11).
7. The generations of Ishmael (xxv. 12-18).
8. The generations of Isaac (xxv. 19-xxxv.).
9. The generations of Esau (xxxvi.).
10. The generations of Jacob (xxxvii.-l.).

This division, however, is not of the importance which Kurtz¹ attaches to it; for, strictly speaking, there are eleven such superscriptions, and not ten, as he maintains; two of them occur in the genealogy of Esau, (xxxvi. 1, 9,) and five only have a direct bearing on the plan of Genesis. These are the generations of Adam, Noah, Abraham included in that of his father Terah, Isaac, and Jacob; for upon these members of the genealogical register the whole history of Genesis hinges.

§ 2. *The Nature and Importance of the History of Genesis.*

It were entirely to mistake the character of the history of Genesis, or, indeed, of the Bible at large, to regard it as having any other than a sacred purpose. It is in no sense a civil history, or record of general revolutions in human affairs, or even of intellectual and social progress. Genesis opens with an account of the origin of the earth and its various inhabitants, shewing the preparations made for man—the last link in the great chain of creation—and the special object of the history, in his moral and spiritual relations. The object of this record, however, it is obvious, was not to teach science or natural history; but to point out distinctly the relation subsisting between the Creator and His creatures, which constitutes the fundamental idea of all true religion and worship. Nor are the delineations of the progress of human affairs, given in the immediately succeeding portions of Genesis, composed

¹ Die Einheit der Genesis, p. lxix. Berlin, 1846.

in the spirit of mere secular history. There are, indeed, incidental notices of the kind which constitutes the chief subject of such compositions—as the origin of the arts by the Cainites; the founding of cities and empires by Nimrod, and particularly the wars of the confederate kings in the time of Abraham; but all such matters are referred to in a way which plainly shews their entire subordination to the sacred object of the narrative. The whole history of the Cainites, for instance, is disposed of in the compass of a few verses, (Gen. iv. 16-26), while the particulars referred to are adduced only as indications of the character of this older but rejected branch of the human family, and of the sources whence they looked for happiness. The wars of the kings,¹ too, are noticed simply on account of the part Abraham performed in rescuing his kinsman Lot, and of his interview on this occasion with that remarkable personage Melchizedek.

But it is from the relative importance attached by the historian to the several subjects introduced, that the special purpose of his work more fully appears. In the narrative of the creation already referred to, the religious aim of the writer is at once apparent, from the comparatively large space occupied with the notice of man; whereas the most stupendous creations and arrangements of the merely material universe are dispatched in a few words. And not only so, but a supplementary narrative, of nearly equal extent to the first, is appropriated to a detailed account of man's creation and original condition. The same object, evidently, it was which determined the limited space devoted to the general or preliminary history, extending over a period of upwards of two thousand (2023) years, compared with that occupied with the biographic sketches of the Hebrew patriarchs. The simplest domestic incidents in the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were, in the view of the historian of Genesis, of greater import than the rise and revolutions of any of the great empires of antiquity, which find little place in his record. But even where the details are most copious, it is the moral and spiritual life

¹ For the value of this narrative, in respect to archæology, see Tuch, *Bemerkungen zu Genesis*, C. 14. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morg. Gesell-*

schaft, vol. i., p. 161. Leip., 1847. Translated in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, July 1848, p. 80.

of the individual concerned that comes prominently into view. In the account, for instance, of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, where an opportunity was afforded to the author for stating many interesting particulars regarding that country, only one incident is recorded bearing on the patriarch's character, and though not redounding to his honour, yet manifesting the protection afforded him by God. That the historian, had it suited his purpose, could have furnished much information which modern Egyptologists would highly prize, appears from the matters incidentally introduced in this very connexion,¹ as well as in other passages of the subsequent history. Such notices, however, were foreign to the professed aim of this record as a revelation of God, and which, it is of consequence to observe, is never lost sight of, or subordinated to any other consideration.

But with regard even to such foreign and subordinate matters, on which it incidentally touches, the history of Genesis is of inestimable value. There is no record whatever, which, even in a secular point of view, can be brought into competition with it. Genesis approaches nearer in time to the events of which it treats, than any other composition. Taking even the lowest view of its credibility or worth, this is an important consideration—and, in fact, there is absolutely nothing in the whole range of ancient literature which occupies the ground of this document, or could have supplied its place if it were lost—so that if confidence cannot be reposed in its authenticity, no reliable information whatever exists on many subjects with which it is exceedingly desirable, if not indispensable, man should be acquainted, and after which there is naturally an intense longing in the human mind. Such, for example, are the questions regarding the origin and the earliest history of mankind, and which, without the information supplied in Genesis, must be for ever involved in impenetrable darkness. But, as remarked, this is taking the very lowest ground; for the matters adverted to, and others of a like character, though interesting, are yet of comparatively little moment, except when viewed in the relation which they occupy in this history, by means of its disclosures on the sub-

¹ See *The Historical Epoch of Abraham*, Princeton Review, July 1857, p. 391.

ject of man's fall and redemption, or the necessity in which that remedial provision originated, and the form in which it was first announced, and subsequently repeated with ever-increasing definiteness. It was this which, even in its obscurest announcements, gave being to a life of faith, various examples of which appear throughout, and from the very commencement, of this history, and which served to give form and substance to the Biblical narrative.¹

It is, accordingly, as a revelation of God, and of man as related to God, his Creator and Redeemer, that Genesis presents itself, and that its importance is to be estimated. Considered more particularly, this record was intended to serve as an introduction to the Theocracy, or the peculiar arrangement into which God entered with the Israelitish nation, in accordance with the covenant which He made with Abraham; the Theocracy again being, in effect, directly preparatory to the Gospel dispensation. And as the Old Testament Scriptures thus begin with an historical narrative, so also does the New Testament. Indeed, the two volumes commence with a *Βίβλος γενέσεως*, (Matt. i. 1); while, further, the account of the creation of "the heavens and the earth," in the first page of Genesis, has its counterpart in the notice of "the new heavens and the new earth," with which the Apocalypse and the canon of Scripture conclude; the first creation having for its object the first Adam, the new creation taking its rise from the second Adam, according to the scheme which it is the great purpose of Scripture, from its very commencement, to set forth and establish. This, in truth, is the great principle which gives coherence not only to Genesis, but to the whole Biblical history and doctrine, constituting them one complete scheme.

The second portion of Genesis is intimately connected with the first, which is itself an introduction, not so much to the lives of the patriarchs, as to the whole history and contents

¹ "It is there (Genesis) that our earliest ideas are formed of the Divine administration and government of the world; it is there we find the key to the imagery and phraseology of all other scripture; there that its chief allusions find their explanation; and, if we take in the whole Pentateuch,

we may say, it is there only we must look for all the principal ideas and historic facts which form the basis, the great vocabulary, as it were, of the entire volume of inspiration."—Hoare, *Veracity of the Book of Genesis*, pp. 3, 4.

of the Sacred Volume. Abraham is pre-eminently the head of a new dispensation, but his appearance on the page of history, and the principles which he represents, have nothing in them abrupt or unexpected. On the contrary, the patriarch, although little is recorded of him previous to his call, stands forth in the closest relation to the fundamental principle which directs the whole narrative. His descent is clearly traced from Adam, the father of the human family, through Seth, the seed given in the room of Abel, (Gen. iv. 25,) down to Noah, the second father of mankind, and thence in the line of Shem, who, it was predicted, should occupy a special relation to Jehovah, which should mediate affect his brethren, (Gen. ix. 26, 27). Abraham's Divine call, and consequent migration to Canaan, form the first practical step towards the establishment, visibly, at least, of that peculiar mediatorial arrangement, the germ of which appeared in the announcement, by their father Noah, of the relation of Shem and Japheth, and through which, as it was subsequently more fully disclosed to Abraham himself, mankind should ultimately be blessed, (Gen. xii. 3).

But if in the history of man, as recorded in the first portion of Genesis, every step in advance shewed only a further divergence from the original unity, both moral and social, and locally, from the central residences first in Eden, (Gen. iv. 16), and afterwards in the plain of Shinar, (xi. 9,)—migrations and dispersions contemplated, indeed, and required in the original constitution of man, and his place in creation, (i. 28,) but without the feelings of alienation which subsequently sprung up among the scattered populations, the second part indicated, though indirectly, a purposed restoration of the original unity. Through the call of Abraham this purpose should be effected, and so an individual was elected out of the mass for the purpose of re-uniting the nations by new and indissoluble bonds. Yet, as if seemingly to defeat the purpose contemplated, one branch after another of Abraham's posterity was excluded from the chosen line—first Ishmael, and next Isaac; and this procedure was the more remarkable as the very first term of the promise made to the patriarch, and the condition, as it were, of all the rest, was that he should become a great nation, (xii. 2). But in reality, this excision,

no less than the severance of all the ties of country and kindred which marked his call, (xii. 1, xiii. 14,) served but to consolidate to the necessary degree the desired unity; for this prolongation of the single stem to the third generation gave the required direction to its vital energies, besides answering other purposes in the Abrahamic and Israelitish economy—such as shewing that the promised blessings were dependent not on the ordinary course of nature, but solely on Divine grace.

§ 3. *The Prophetic Character of Genesis.*

Scripture history, even in its strictest sense, is not simply retrospective, but has also from its very nature and aim, a special aspect to the future. This is pre-eminently the case with the history of Genesis, which is largely imbued with prophetic elements, in addition to predictions which are more expressly of that character. It is concerned with principles more than with persons, and with the latter only or chiefly as illustrating the former, and not on the ground, as sometimes alleged, of mere patriotism or similar partiality on the part of the Hebrew author. Hence, the history is a record of the failings, no less truly and impartially than of the heroism of “the father of the faithful” and the other patriarchs; and when it is objected that Moses could not have been the author of the Pentateuch because of the commendatory terms in which he is there spoken of, particularly in Num. xii. 3,¹ it should also be noticed by the objectors, that the record is at least equally explicit with respect to matters of a different character affecting the lawgiver, (Exod. iv. 13, 14, Num. xx. 12.) The Bible purports to be a revelation of God, and it effects its purpose in that respect by its being at the same time a revelation of man, who in his creation was constituted the “image of God.” Upon this principle it is, that while the earliest notices in Genesis are few and fragmentary as regards the history of the times or of individuals, more especially previous to the Abrahamic age, they nevertheless, with all their scantiness, afford comparatively ample materials for elucidating and confirming

¹ Kurtz, *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, vol. ii. pp. 380, 541.

those truths which, whether deducible from its history or announced doctrinally, constituted the Bible, from its first composition, the religious instructor of man. How inconsiderable an element the past or the merely personal formed in this history appears, for instance, from the scanty notices of Adam after the fall, compared with the particulars recorded of him prior to that event, and while he sustained a relation in which he is represented as affecting his posterity and all future time. So also with regard to the history of Cain and Abel, (Gen. iv.), where little more is mentioned than an act of worship and the consequences which thence resulted. But as one of the few notices of Adam (iii. 20), evinced his dependence on the first prophecy of the Gospel, (ver. 15), so the specific purpose of the history of the first two brothers was to shew how, notwithstanding the spread and transmission of sin with the propagation of the race, the Divine idea embraced in the promise of redemption through "the seed of the woman," began to be realized in and through humanity by the establishment of the kingdom of God in antagonism to the power of evil which, according to the whole tenor of the history, was by that time visibly exercising an influence in the world, (Gen. iv. 25, 26).

It is this prophetic element, consistently presented from the commencement almost of the Biblical narrative, and gradually developed through the progress of events, rather than the more external or formal links of genealogy and chronology, which, however, hold a very important place,¹ that imparts a living unity not only to Genesis, but to the entire volume to which it forms so fitting an introduction. Through the influence of this principle the men of faith in primeval times "called on the name of the Lord," (Gen. iv. 26), and had their hopes directed to a future which should witness the removal of the curse imposed on the ground on account of man's sin, (v. 29); while, without adverting to the intermediate examples, Jacob, at the very close of Genesis, sustained by the same principle, intimated with his dying breath, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord," (xlix. 18). Indeed, it was in this view that Genesis and the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures were composed: the future as presenting itself in this

¹ See Ranke, *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, vol i. pp. 10-36.

special aspect to the eye of faith, was the great consideration which guided the several writers, however much they were separated from one another in time. Thus it is that the entire series of Divine revelations as well on the particular point adverted to, as on others, was of a progressive character, the earlier being truly the germ of the later development, and however formally, yet never essentially different from it. It is this which gives to Genesis, the oldest of documents, its intrinsic value, and secures for it and for the record of the more peculiar institutions of the Israelitish nation a permanent place in the volume of inspiration, and in fact prevents any portion of that volume from ever becoming obsolete, or in any degree antiquated. Moreover, the truth first announced in the promise, "the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent," and from that point running like a golden thread through successive systems and dispensations, till reduced to the historic form in which it is put in the words, "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law," (Gal. iv. 4, 5)—gives to the whole such a unity as palpably stamps on it a Divine signature: for He only who sees the end from the beginning, could order adjustments so various and complicated, and extending through such vast ages, in such a manner that even the most sceptically disposed cannot fail to discern the accomplishment of purposes intimated long before in this history.

§ 4. *The Chronology of Genesis.*

Although sufficient evidence is furnished in the Bible that the computation of time was carefully attended to from the earliest periods of history, yet considerable difficulties attach to the precise date of several of the occurrences of Scripture, from the circumstance among others, that its chronology was to a certain extent subordinate to its genealogy, the sacred historians deeming it of more importance to mark the particular line through which any great event was or should be realized, than the precise epoch of its occurrence. The difficulties thus or otherwise occasioned, whether by breaks in the narrative, or a want of chronological data are, however, even less as

respects the Bible, though parts of it are unquestionably the oldest compositions extant, than perhaps any other ancient records; while the Hebrew annals certainly present nothing akin to those fabulous periods to which the legends of many nations laid claim. No small part of the difficulties of Scripture chronology is due, moreover, not to the record itself, but to unwarranted attempts to harmonise it with other chronological schemes, in many of their features manifestly false, and in no respect resting on evidence comparable to that of the Biblical history.

The chronological data of Genesis are exceedingly ample and explicit. The historical line from Adam to Jacob, the last of the great Hebrew patriarchs, is carefully marked by generations, while, in order to preclude the uncertainty pertaining to a term so variable, the length of the generation is in every instance stated. With regard, however, to the earlier portion of this book, the chronologer encounters one of his chief difficulties in having to determine whether he is in possession of the genuine text, from the fact that there are important variations between the Hebrew and such closely related documents as the Samaritan recension, and the Greek version of the LXX., and which change to a very considerable degree the entire relation of events and contemporaneous occurrences.

These variations, it further appears, are due not to accident but to design, and for advancing some particular scheme of chronology. But for the present purpose it is unnecessary to inquire whether the corruption is in the original or in the versions, as in the absence of any satisfactory proof to the contrary, the considerate critic will accord to the original, in any case, the preference to which as such it is entitled, more particularly when, as in this instance, there is antagonism among the versions themselves.¹ According to the Hebrew text then, Genesis comprises a period of 2309 years; from Adam to the deluge, 1656, (or according to the following table, 1658), + 367 to Abram's call, + 286 to the death of Joseph, who outlived his father 54 years, (Gen. xli. 46, 47; xlv. 11, comp. with l. 26) = 2309.²

¹ For a vindication of the Hebrew Chronology, see Brown, *Ordo Sæculorum*. §§ 307-326, pp. 330-357.

² See the data in Carpzov, vol. i. pp.

65-68, who, adding 60 years to the age of Terah at Abram's birth, makes the sum 2369.

The differences and agreements just adverted to will at once appear from the following table,¹ as also the scheme on which the variations proceeded.

	Age at Birth of Eldest Son.			After the Birth of Eldest Son.			Total Length of Life.		
	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.
Adam.....	230	130		700	800		930	..	..
Seth	205	105		707	807		912	..	..
Enos.....	190	90		715	815		905	..	..
Cainan.....	170	70		740	840		910	..	..
Mahalaleel	165	65		730	830		895	..	..
Jared.....	162	..	62	800	..	785	962	..	847
Enoch.....	165	65		200	300		365	..	..
Methuselah.....	187	..	67	(782)	782	653	969	..	720
	167			802					
Lamech.....	188	182	53	565	595	600	753	777	653
Noah.....	502	..	..	448	..	..	950	..	..
Shem	100	..	..	500	..	..	600	..	..
	2264	1658	1309	This was "two years after the Flood."					
	2244								
Arphaxad.....	135	35	..	400	403	303	(535)	(438)	438
Cainan.....	130			330			(460)		
Salah.....	130	30	..	330	403	303	(460)	(433)	433
Eber.....	134	34	..	270	430	..	(404)	(464)	404
Peleg.....	130	30	..	209	..	109	(339)	(239)	239
Reu.....	132	32	..	207	..	107	(339)	(239)	239
Serug.....	130	30	..	200	..	100	(330)	(230)	230
Nahor.....	79	29	..	129	119	69	(208)	(148)	148
	179								
Terah.....	70	..	..	(135)	(135)	(75)	205	..	145
Abram leaves Haran	75								
	1145	365	1015						
	1245								

Obs.—1. In the above table, the various readings of the LXX. are given. 2. The dots indicate numbers agreeing with the LXX. 3. The numbers inclosed in parentheses are not stated, but obtained by computation from others. 4. The number of generation in the LXX. is one in excess of the Hebrew and Samaritan, on account of the "Second Cainan," whom the best chronologers are agreed in rejecting as spurious.

The only point on which there need be any question here, is the year of Abraham's birth, which some reckon 60 years later than the date assigned above. This is not owing to any ambiguity in the text itself, but to a statement in Acts vii. 4,

¹ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Lond., 1860. Art. *Chronology*, vol. 1. p. 319.

respecting Terah. According to Gen. xi. 26, Terah was 70 years old when he begat Abram, Nahor and Haran: Terah died at the age of 205 years, (ver. 32), and as Abraham migrated to Canaan when 75 years old, (xii. 4), Terah must have survived that event 60 years. The proto-martyr Stephen, however, stated before the Jewish council that Terah predeceased his son's migration. Some writers¹ on this subject content themselves with remarking that the Jewish chronology here followed by Stephen must have been at fault, without advert- ing to the strong improbability of the Jews misinterpreting such a plain historical statement of their Scriptures, and one so related to their great ancestor; while others dispose of the contradiction by supposing a visit of Abraham, though not mentioned in the history, to Terah, after whose death he returned to Canaan.²

Not satisfied with such modes of adjusting the Jewish reckoning with the statements in Genesis, not a few chronologers take a different view of Gen. xi. 26, holding that it does not necessarily follow from this passage that Abraham was Terah's eldest son and born in the year there specified. On the contrary, they consider him to be the youngest son, born when his father was 130 years old. This view was held by Chrysostom and Procopius of Gaza, among the Fathers, and by Calvin, Musculus and others of the Reformation period.³ In estimating its value, it must be admitted that the mention of Terah's death before the writer enters upon the history of Abraham, is of itself no evidence of the order of the events narrated, as it is often the manner of Scripture to introduce whatever concerns an individual before treating of the next historical personage. It must also be admitted on the other hand that Gen. v. 32, adduced in support of this view, is not quite analogous; for although Shem, unquestionably the second son of Noah, is placed first of three sons born about their father's 500th year, yet possibly only a brief interval elapsed between their births, while in Terah's family, a period of 60 years is

¹ Alford, *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. p. 62. Lond., 1855.

² So, after several of the older writers, Baillie, *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, p. 33. Amstel., 1668.

³ See Spanheim, *Chronologia Sacra. Opera*. Tom. i. pp. 225, 226. Lug. Bat. 1701. Pfeiffer, *Dubia Vexata. Opera*, i. p. 49. Ultrajec., 1704. Brown, *Ordo Sæclorum*, pp. 318-320.

alleged between the births of the eldest and the youngest. Moreover, on this supposition it must be admitted that there is no precise intimation of the year of Abraham's birth—the most illustrious personage of Old Testament history, unless the want is compensated by the mention of his age at the time of his call,—a far more important epoch than that of his birth, for the purpose of this history.

But notwithstanding these deductions there are considerable arguments on the other side. Haran predeceased his father, leaving one son, Lot, and two daughters, Milcah and Iscah, (xi. 27-29). Milcah became the wife of her uncle, Nahor; but of Iscah there is no further mention. Abraham's wife is named Sarai, afterwards Sarah, but no hint is there given, who or whence she was, though an after statement of Abraham makes her his sister, (xx. 12). From the manner in which Iscah's name is introduced with Milcah's in the notice of the marriages of Abraham and Nahor, and no further allusion to her, not even on the removal of Terah and his family to Haran, when a list of the immigrants is given, (xi. 31), it is concluded by many, without any reference to the present theory, that Iscah must have been identical with Sarai.¹ The Rabbinical writers in general held this view, as appears from the Talmud, the Targum of Jonathan, and from Jarchi; and it was the current opinion among the Jews in the time of Josephus.² The only circumstance opposed to this is Abraham's own statement: "She is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother," from which it is inferred that Sarai could not have been Terah's grand-daughter. This statement was intended by Abraham as a palliation of his conduct on this occasion, and there was thus a motive for placing his consanguineal relation to Sarah in a particular light. He had given out that she was his sister: this he now qualifies by making her the daughter only of his father, which can hardly be an intimation of a second marriage of Terah, but must be regarded rather as an obscure hint of the true state of the case. If now, Iscah and Sarai are identical, Abraham must have been considerably younger than Haran, as

¹ Kitto, Cyc. Bib. Lit., art. *Sarah*, vol. ii. p. 690. Edin., 1845. *Smith, Dictionary*. Art. *Abraham*, vol. i. p. 11. ² Antiq., i. 6. § 5.

the daughter of the latter was only ten years younger than her husband Abraham, (xvii. 17).

Further, that Terah's death preceded the removal of Abraham from Haran appears, irrespective of this, from the fact that if he survived he must have been left alone in Haran, since all the members of his family specified as having accompanied him from Ur,¹ followed Abraham into Canaan, (xii. 5)—a circumstance in the highest degree improbable. Even Lot, who had no special call for undertaking a journey in a worldly point of view so unpromising, joins his uncle instead of remaining with his desolate grandfather. Again, there seems to have been no communication for a long period between the immigrants of Canaan and the relatives left behind at the seat of the family. Not until after the intended offering of Isaac did Abraham hear of the state of his brother's family, (xxii. 20.)—and this must have been at least fifty years from the time of his coming to Canaan—a want of intercourse utterly inconceivable if his father, Terah, had been alive during all that period.

SECT. II.—THE SECOND BOOK OF THE PENTATEUCH.—EXODUS.

§ 1. *Its Name and Contents.*

The second great division of the Pentateuch is in Hebrew named שמות, or simply שמות, "And these are the names," or "Names;" but by the LXX., Ἔξοδος, or *departure*, viz., from Egypt, because of the principal event with which it is occupied, and which constituted the very birth of the Israelitish nation as the chosen covenant people of Jehovah. It is also called by Rabbinical writers, דַּמְנָה, (*damna*).²

The contents of Exodus, though not embracing such a variety of incidents as Genesis, are of a more diversified character, being not merely historical, but also, and for the greater part, legislative, or concerned with instructions, having all the au-

¹ Nahor's family, which also settled in Haran, (Gen. xxiv. 10; xxvii. 43,) must have come hither at a later period. This is more probable than the forced interpretations of Gen. xi. 31, by the

ancient versions, and some modern expositors. See Kalisch, *in loc.* p. 326.

² Hottinger, *Thesaur. Philologicus*, p. 457.

thority of law, with respect to the erection and arrangements of the Levitical tabernacle or sanctuary—the visible centre of the theocratic life. The subject matter, arranged according to historical order, forms three divisions marked by the successive change of scene, in and from Egypt through the Arabian desert to Mount Sinai.

I.—THE CONDITION OF ISRAEL IN EGYPT, AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR THEIR DEPARTURE THENCE, ACCORDING TO THE PROMISES MADE TO THE PATRIARCHS.—Chap. i.—xii. 36, viz:—

The rapid increase of Jacob's descendants gave occasion to their oppression by the Egyptian government, (i.); the birth and remarkable preservation of Moses, (ii. 1-10); his flight to, and settlement in Arabia, (ii. 11-22); his Divine commission to liberate his brethren, (iii.-iv., 28); his journey to Egypt, and the infliction of the first nine plagues, (iv. 29.-x. 29); preparation for the Exodus; institution of the passover, and the conclusion of the plagues, (xi.-xii. 36.)

II.—ISRAEL'S MARCH FROM RAMESES TO MOUNT SINAI.—Chap. xii. 37.-xix. 2, viz:—

The Exodus, (xii. 37-42); more specific directions regarding the Passover, and the consecration of the Israelitish first-born to Jehovah, (xii. 43-xiii. 16); notice of the line of march, the pursuit by the Egyptians, and their destruction in the Red Sea, (xiii. 17-xiv.), Moses' Song of Thanksgiving for deliverance from the Egyptians, (xv. 1-21); continuation of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, (xv. 22.-xix. 2.)

III.—ISRAEL'S ABODE IN THE DESERT, AND THE PROMULGATION OF THE SINAITIC LAW.—Chap. xix. 3.-xl., viz:—

Preparations for the establishment of the Theocratic Covenant, by the designation of Israel to be a peculiar possession of Jehovah, and a kingdom of priests, (xix. 3-25); promulgation of the moral law, (xx.); other fundamental ordinances, chiefly of a judicial character, (xxi.-xxiii.); ratification of the covenant, (xxiv. 1-11); directions for the construction of a sanctuary on Moses receiving the tables of the law, (xxiv. 12-xxx. 18); Israel's apostasy and their restoration to the Divine favour through Moses' intercession, (xxxii.-xxxiv.); the people's offerings for, and the construction of the sanctuary, (xxxv.-xl.)

2. *The relation of the History of Exodus to that of Genesis.*

The close literary connection between the Books of Genesis and Exodus, is clearly marked by the Hebrew conjunctive particle *vav*, "and," with which the latter begins, and still more by the recapitulation of the names of Jacob's sons who

accompanied him to Egypt, abridged from the fuller account in Gen. xlv. 8-27. Still the Book of Exodus is not a continuation in strict chronological sequence of the preceding history, for a considerable interval is passed over in silence, save only the remark, "And the children of Israel were fruitful and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them," (Ex. i. 7). But the pretermission of all that concerned the Israelitish sojourners in Goshen during that period, and their intercourse with the Egyptians, instead of being an indication as many allege of the fragmentary character of the Pentateuch, only shows, as already remarked with respect to Genesis, the sacred purpose of the history, and that in the plan of the writer, considerations of a merely secular interest were subordinate to the divine intents partially unfolded in the earlier history, and to be further developed in the course of the present narrative, regarding the national constitution of the seed of Abraham. The importance of the solitary remark introduced relative to the extraordinary increase of the Israelites arises from its being viewed as the first step towards the realization of the promises made to Abraham of a numerous progeny, and of territorial possessions for his seed, (Gen. xiii. 15-17.) The observation was also necessary as explanatory of the oppressive measures adopted by the Egyptian monarch for checking Israel's rapid increase, but which, by a remarkable providence, secured a fitting education for the future deliverer and lawgiver of this oppressed people, (Ex. ii. 10, comp. Acts vii. 21, 22.)

The formal diversity of the subject, arising from the clearly marked evolution, at this stage, of the Divine purposes concerning Israel, gives to the Book of Exodus a distinct character from Genesis. The deliverance from Egypt was the commencement of Israel's political existence, and this constituted the first important epoch in the history of Abraham's seed, as distinct from that of the individual patriarchs, and the merely personal and family relation which was the subject of the preceding record. In the history of Jacob, the individual was, as regards the divine promises, developed into the family. There was no longer that excision from the stem of blessing so noticeable hitherto in the case of the immediate offspring both of Abraham and Isaac. And the family, again, grew into a

population in Egypt, possessed of some measure of independence and self-government, as appears from the mention, even after their sorest oppression, of "elders" of Israel, (Ex. iii. 16; iv. 29), heads or representatives of tribes and families. While then the history of Genesis is chiefly personal history, or biographic sketches, that of Exodus, on the contrary, is almost entirely of a national character, the only exception being with regard to the deliverer himself whom God so remarkably raised up for the work intrusted to him; but even his personal history is introduced only so far as it served to illustrate that providence which watched over this people, (ii. 1-22; iii. 1.) The genealogy of Moses and Aaron subsequently given, (vi. 16-26,) had in view the prospective establishment of the priesthood in the family of Aaron; and inasmuch as the brothers were of the tribe of Levi, the third son of Jacob, this notice was preceded by a succinct genealogy of the two elder sons, Reuben and Simeon, (ver. 14, 15.)

The Book of Exodus has thus a more exclusive character, as occupied with the interests of one community separated from the nations, and with matters of a social and political nature, and which are, on that very account, deemed by many unworthy of being made the subject of a Divine revelation. Such views, however, arise from ignorance of the purposes contemplated, and further, overlook the special points of relation between this book and Genesis; one, in particular, of which is, that its history is a record of the accomplishment, to a certain extent, of the promises and predictions contained in Genesis. This has been already noticed, with respect to the opening statement of Exodus, as to the multiplication of the Israelites in Egypt; but the same principle pervades the whole book, giving a particular form or complexion as well to its historical narration as to its legislative enactments. Besides the intimations to Abraham of a numerous progeny, he was informed that they should be afflicted in a strange country, whence they should be delivered in the fourth generation, with great substance, through a Divine judgment upon their oppressors (Gen. xv. 13-16). This intimation was realized at the Exodus, when "all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt," (Ex. xii. 41)—the very time of the deliverance corresponding, as the historian's remark bears, to the prophetic announce-

ment. A land also had been prophetically assigned to the ransomed nation, and, accordingly, the history immediately following the Exodus shews them on their march towards it.

That providence which, by a combination of causes, variously operating now on a nomade family in Canaan, and again, through the slumbers of a Pharaoh, was seen at the close of Genesis conducting the Hebrews to Egypt, appears at the opening of the narrative of Exodus, no less clearly preparing for their restoration to the land of their fathers' sojourning. This was in accordance with the promise to Abraham, subsequently and more expressly renewed to Jacob at Beersheba on his way to Egypt: "Fear not to go down into Egypt: for I will there make of thee a great nation. I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up again," (Gen. xvi. 3, 4). In the full hope of this promise, Jacob and his son Joseph died in the land of Egypt—the latter, in particular, taking an oath of his brethren that, on their departure thence, they should carry up with them his bones, (l. 25).

The first part of the promise made to Jacob had received such a fulfilment, prior to the birth of Moses, fully eighty years before the Exodus, as to arrest the attention of the Egyptian government, naturally alarmed at the great increase of this alien population within their dominions; and hence the various but ineffectual expedients, of which mention is made, for reducing their numbers, (Ex. i. 12, 17). However, these oppressive measures effected purposes not contemplated by their authors. They served, among other ends, to wean the Israelites from their attachment to the land of their sojourning. How much this was needed, appears from their subsequent history, especially their murmurings in the wilderness; and, indeed, the hold which it is thus seen Egypt had on their affections, owing partly to the facilities with which their animal wants could be there supplied, (Num. xi. 5), fully accords with what is still witnessed among such inhabitants of the desert as are led to settle in the valley of the Nile.¹ Moses, indeed, when he first tried to arouse his brethren to a sense of their high destiny as the seed of the patriarchs, found them quite unprepared for his friendly overtures; so that a

¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 2d ed., vol. i. p. 93. Lond 1856.

further period of trial was necessary for the due discipline not only of the people, but, as was also apparent, of the deliverer himself. The time, however, did at length arrive for Israel's deliverance from servitude and a foreign soil. But their multiplication in Egypt, their deliverance thence, and even their being put into possession of the promised land, were only means to the end long before announced, of their being blessed in themselves, and proving a blessing to others, (Gen. xii. 2, 3). The Exodus, they were told, was in order to their entrance upon the service of Jehovah, (Ex. iv. 23;) they were his "hosts," (xii. 41,) called to some specific work in connexion with the Divine purposes, already declared in the call of and covenant with Abraham, and to be more fully intimated in the Sinaitic covenant into which God was about to enter with them.

Besides the numerical increase of the Israelites, which was a necessary condition for their rightly occupying, to its full extent, the land provided for them, it was still more requisite that they should possess a moral character fitting them for fulfilling the purposes involved in their calling. Whatever advantages Egypt may have possessed as the nursery of a population, or for fostering the physical and intellectual growth of any ordinary community, it was unquestionably a very inadequate school for moral and spiritual discipline, and advancement in theocratic principles. So far from supplying incentives to such training, the very prosperity which attended the early part of the sojourn in Egypt under the protection of Joseph, may have made the Israelites almost forget the land of promise. It certainly induced a contentment with their condition which it required severe oppression to overcome; while no doubt the sensuous worship around them would well nigh obliterate the faith and practice of their pilgrim fathers. Hence obviously the necessity for their subjection to the coercive measures exercised over them, (though with quite another view), by the Egyptian government, the effect of which, however, was, that they were made to cry to the Lord by reason of their bondage, (Ex. ii. 23,) and at length rendered favourably disposed to the message brought to them by Moses from the Lord God of their fathers, (iii. 15; comp. iv. 31). The earlier proffered interposition of Moses on their behalf had,

indeed, proved to be premature; neither the people nor their self-constituted leader was yet sufficiently trained for the service to which they were respectively to be called. But even when, after a long course of discipline, the Israelites left Egypt, there was still much needed for qualifying them for their vocation. The wilderness, where Moses himself had been trained for his work, (iii. 1, 2,) must furnish also to the people the discipline so inadequately provided in Egypt. Accordingly, arrangements were made from the very first, and before leaving Egypt, for their temporary sojourn in the Arabian desert, (iii. 12, xiii. 17,) though their obstinacy and unbelief subsequently gave occasion for its being greatly protracted. The preparation of Israel in the wilderness required, however, to be more than negative; and hence the varied institutions under which they were now to be brought.

The first great principle requisite in their case was, that they should be brought to know and trust in Jehovah. This was the object contemplated in the long-continued controversy with Pharaoh relative to the Exodus. The deliverance of Israel, considered in itself, was not the chief end of the Mosaic mission; had it been so, it might have been more summarily effected. Its object, as repeatedly stated in the narrative itself, was the revelation of Jehovah both to the Israelites and to the Egyptians. To the former it was said, "Ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God, who bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians," (vi. 7); while with respect to the latter it was stated, "The Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them," (vii. 5). The particular form adopted for proclaiming this truth arose from the state of matters at the time, as apparent from the reply of Pharaoh to Moses' first request preferred to him in the name of the God of Israel—"Who is Jehovah, that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not Jehovah, neither will I let Israel go," (v. 2.) Pharaoh knew and revered his country's gods, but he knew not and cared nothing, according to this declaration, for the God of the servile and despised Hebrews. Accordingly, on witnessing the first sign which Moses was directed to perform, Pharaoh called in "the wise men and the sorcerers of Egypt"—the

representatives of the powers of heathenism, and who, to a certain extent, were found to imitate not only this sign, but also the first two plagues. At the third, however, their power failed; they acknowledged themselves foiled, and they were at length forced to relinquish the contest, (viii. 18, 19; ix. 11.) This was an important point achieved, though it had little effect as yet upon the haughty and obdurate mind of Pharaoh. But even as it was, the power thus put forth in opposition to Moses was exerted only in aggravating the evils brought upon the land; for their removal or mitigation the magicians were altogether powerless. Any relief obtained was seen and acknowledged to be only from Jehovah, through the intercession of Moses (viii. 8,) and this acknowledgment on the part of Pharaoh went on increasing, and was accompanied by certain concessions. The plague of frogs induced Pharaoh to implore, through Moses, the aid of Jehovah, (viii. 8;) the fourth plague—the flies—extorted from him permission for the Israelites to sacrifice in Egypt, and then, though afterwards revoked, to proceed a short distance from Egypt for that purpose, (viii. 25, 28). The hail-storm—the seventh plague—drew forth the confession: “I have sinned this time: Jehovah is righteous, and I and my people are wicked,” (ix. 27); and again, under the eighth visitation, “I have sinned against Jehovah your God, and against you,” (x. 16); the announcement of this plague having previously procured permission for the adult males to go away to sacrifice, (ver. 11); while, by the ninth plague, this was extended to all the people, provided their flocks and herds only were left behind, (ver. 24)—a condition which Moses, however, refused to accept. And now followed a judgment which brought matters to a crisis, and led even to the expulsion of the Israelites by those whose great interest it was to retain them in servitude, (xii. 31-33.) Although the result was only a temporary and forced submission on the part of Pharaoh, the effects on the Egyptians were otherwise. Some of them had previously practically acknowledged the power of Jehovah, for, on the announcement of the hail-storm, numbers “feared the word of Jehovah,” and took advantage of the warning to house their servants and cattle, (ix. 20); and on the announcement of the locusts, even the very courtiers urged the king to submission in this now evidently unequal

contest, (x. 7). For the general impression made on the Egyptians, see chap. xi. 3.

The effect on the Israelites themselves of these interpositions, so wonderfully consummated in the passage of the Red Sea, and the destruction of their pursuers, appears in their response to Moses' song of deliverance: "I will sing unto Jehovah, for he hath triumphed gloriously. . . . Jehovah is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation; my fathers' God, and I will exalt him," (xv. 1, 2). The Divine purpose intimated to Israel, at the outset of these proceedings, (vi. 7,) is here seen to be accomplished. Jehovah is acknowledged to be Israel's God, and the God of their fathers, to whom, however, He was known rather as EL SHADDAI, the Almighty, than as JEHOVAH, the deep import of which *name* had not then been disclosed or fully *comprehended* by the patriarchs, (vi. 3).

With this definite object—the revelation of Jehovah—the plagues inflicted on the Egyptians strikingly correspond. They were not mere prodigies, or arbitrary displays of power, but seem to have been specifically directed to the promotion of certain important truths, and the subversion of the opposite errors. They bear a special relation to Egypt in respect both to the physical characteristics of that land, and to the kind of idolatrous worship there practised—two things which are found to be more or less intimately related in all forms of heathenism.

There was in the nature of the case a special reason why the natural basis should be brought prominently into view. The object to which the plagues were directed, was the revelation of Jehovah as God, not merely of Pharaoh's bondsmen, but also as God over Pharaoh himself, and over all the land of Egypt, "Jehovah in the midst of the earth," (viii. 22, [18]), and over all nature. Thus Hengstenberg:—"well grounded proof of this could not have been produced by bringing suddenly upon Egypt a succession of strange terrors. From these it would only have followed that Jehovah had received a momentary and external power over Egypt. On the contrary, if the events which annually return were placed under the immediate control of Jehovah, it would be appropriately shown

that He was God in the midst of the land, and the doom of the false gods which had been placed in His stead would go forth, and they would be entirely driven out of the jurisdiction which was considered as belonging to them."¹ Hengstenberg, indeed, and also Osburn,² enlarge the natural basis in this matter to an unwarrantable degree; for in order to find in the usual and annual phenomena of Egypt, something corresponding to the several plagues, they protract the time over which these occurrences extended to a degree certainly not supported by any statement in the history. But, however this may be, the supernatural is distinctly visible throughout the series of judgments. It is not at all a question of degrees or of fortuitous concurrences. Had there been anything of this kind it obviously would not have escaped the notice of Pharaoh or his advisers, whose opportunities for detecting any imposture were equal at least to those of the most sceptical moderns, while their wishes would no less prompt them to resort for an explanation to second causes if possible. The great distinguishing feature however in those visitations, was that they were under the control so far of Moses, the professed messenger of Jehovah, that they followed upon his announcements, and were removed at his request; and further, that a line of demarcation was drawn between the Israelites in the neighbouring district of Goshen and the Egyptians, and which was particularly striking in so remarkable a phenomenon as that of the three days' darkness. Let the foundation in nature for this plague be, as the writers last named, though with great improbability, maintain, the *Chamsin*, or hot wind of the desert, or whatever else it may, entire immunity from its effects to the Israelites in the immediate vicinity,—thick darkness overshadowing Egypt while there was light shining upon the Israelitish dwellings,—is a phenomenon inexplicable on any principles of meteorology or other science.³

The adaptation of the plagues to the purpose which they were designed to accomplish, is further seen when they are viewed in relation to the Egyptian idolatry. It is expressly

¹ Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 97. Edin. 1845.

² See Hawks, *Monuments of Egypt*.

³ *Israel in Egypt*, pp. 245-302, 2nd ed. p. 256. New York, 1854.

stated by the historian, that the controversy was one directly with the gods of Egypt, (xii. 12,) and the way in which it was decided, is, apart from the other general considerations bearing on the subject, strikingly testified in the impression which the whole events of the Exodus produced on Jethro, the priest of Midian: "Now I know that Jehovah is greater than all gods; for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly He was above them," (xviii. 11.)

But it is not only this general bearing of the plagues that is apparent; the specific application of several of them at least can be distinctly discerned.¹ The object of the first two, the changing of the Nile into blood, and the production of frogs by the river, is exceedingly significant. To the Egyptians the Nile was a special object of regard, and even of worship. Being almost the only potable water in Egypt, and being besides of a most pleasant description, the intimation, "the Egyptians shall loathe to drink of the water of the river," (vii. 18,) had a peculiar force. The worship of the Nile can be traced back to a very early period. The monuments shew the kings presenting oblations and paying divine honours to the river. A reference to this worship is probably contained in the directions for Moses to meet Pharaoh as he went out in the morning to the water, (vii. 15; viii. 20.) The message of Jehovah would thus be presented to the monarch as he was preparing to bring his offerings to his false gods. In the second plague, again, which was closely connected with the first, the river, which was looked on by the Egyptians as the source of all their blessings, was converted into a fruitful parent of most loathsome creatures; and never was the impotency of their goddess Heki, whose office it was to drive away the frogs, exceedingly annoying even in ordinary years,² more apparent than on this occasion, when her interposition was more than ever required. Of the other plagues, it need only be remarked, that they were productive of much personal suffering to the Egyptians, and of destruction to their property, against which calamities they were wont to confide in the protection of one

¹ Bryant, (*Observations upon the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians*, Lond. 1810,) is very fanciful and inaccurate; but his theory of the reference

of these plagues to the idolatry of Egypt has been proved by more recent investigations to possess some truth.

² Osburn, *Israel in Egypt*, p. 263.

or other of their innumerable deities. As Jehovah had manifested His power over the river, the land, and the elements, He at length laid his commands upon the sun, "the father god of the whole mythology, the dread protector of the oldest and most venerated of the cities of Egypt,"¹ and discharged it from shining for three days upon the land. This completed the preliminaries to the last plague,—the death of the first-born,—a judgment in which all the preceding inflictions met and culminated.

The purposes to be answered by the sojourn in Egypt, and afterwards in the wilderness, may thus be seen to be in fulfilment of the promises made to the Israelitish fathers, while, moreover, the arrangements for their accomplishment will be found to indicate in various ways, the nicest adaptation of means to ends. Read with the commentary furnished by the history of Exodus, the Book of Genesis acquires a new light; a special Providence is seen holding all the threads of primeval and patriarchal life, and weaving them into one grand historical tissue. Even such matters as, at the time of their occurrence, appeared only as calamities giving rise to painful feelings, like those which found utterance in the complaints of Jacob when he thought himself bereaved of his children, (Gen. xlii. 36), are seen to be parts of a gracious administration. Jacob, no doubt, like his son Joseph, was eventually brought to discern this: but the Divine purposes which the latter discovered in his own eventful experience, (xlv. 7,) are, by the further history of Exodus, placed in a still more striking light. And on the other hand, the history of Exodus, when taken along with the principles announced in Genesis, assumes at once its true character and importance. Its story of divine interpositions no longer appears confined to the manumission of an enslaved people, and their formation into a free community, and to their civil and other temporal concerns, but is seen to embrace the spiritual interests not simply of that community, but of mankind through them, so that even more expressly than that of Genesis is the history of Exodus typical of the future.

¹ Osburn, *Israel in Egypt*, p. 290.

§ 3. *The Character of the Legislation of Exodus.*

The purposes for which the seed of Abraham was set apart were, that they should constitute unto Jehovah "a peculiar treasure above (*out of* or *from among*) all people," which is explained by their forming to Him "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex. xix. 4-6). A kingdom implies a king: this must be Jehovah himself; for, as all the subjects are priests, the king can only be God, who assumes over Israel sovereign rights and duties, including the supreme legislation, the ordinances which govern the community, and regulate all their domestic and foreign relations. The object of this arrangement is seen in the nature of the kingdom which was thus established,—“a kingdom of priests,” holding a mediatorial relation between God and the nations of the earth, as declared long before in the promises to Abraham. For this purpose Israel is, and must be, “a holy nation,” set apart from the world to God, the absolutely Holy. Holiness was a primary requisite in the covenant people (Lev. xix. 2), and to secure it was a principal end of the theocratic ordinances and arrangements, and so imparted its peculiar form to the Sinaitic legislation.¹

This legislation, which included civil as well as religious enactments, opened with the promulgation of the moral law comprised in the decalogue, which was thus made the basis of the Israelitish constitution and polity. This fact itself intimated that the civil and political exigencies of the people were not the only, or even the chief, object of the theocratic government. The Sinaitic legislation, (though intended to carry out the external separation of Israel, already partially effected by the providential arrangements of their history, and to be further completed by their location in Canaan, and also to secure their national existence through the operation of such social and civil ordinances, as, while of an equitable and conservatory character, were specially adapted to the circumstances of the case,) ultimately aimed at their moral and spiritual training as the covenant people of Jehovah, by exhibiting, under sensible forms and otherwise, the truths implied in that relation.

¹ Kurtz, *Geschichte*, vol. ii., pp. 274, 275.

There was this further peculiarity in the Mosaic legislation, that the religious enactments had a civil or judicial sanction, while the civil bore also a religious character. Transgression of a religious command was an offence against the state, and contempt of a civil ordinance came under the character of sin. This arose from the circumstance that the proper Head of the community was God and King in one Person; God revealing himself and acting as Israel's King, and the King revealing himself and acting as God. This principle, however alien to, and, indeed, in many respects incompatible with, ordinary legislation, was indispensable to the purposes of the theocracy, were it for no other consideration,—which, however, is far from being the case,—than as directly intended to build up a community, numerous, indeed, but of recent growth, who, instead of enjoying the blessings of freedom, had been long subjected to the deteriorating influences of slavery, and therefore needed this special discipline, to prepare them to be the medium for beneficially affecting mankind, and at the same time to secure a blessing for themselves. While the civil laws and ordinances of Israel were immediately intended for the state of things attendant on the present wants of the people, they had still a typical or spiritual aspect, and a reference to the future. Several of them exhibited in practice great principles of government, which, however they may vary in form, according to the circumstances of a people, are essentially of universal application in promoting the great end of God with respect to man. It is because all these ordinances were variously operating to the same ends that it is difficult to draw a rigid distinction between what is strictly civil and the sacred or ceremonial in the Mosaic system. Even the properly moral, though essentially distinct, does not occupy a place apart from and independent of the rest. On the contrary, the various enactments form one complex whole, having one basis—God's covenant with his people, and one object—the realizing the conditions of that covenant; and hence the terms in which the *law* is spoken of in the New Testament, so various, and, from disregarding the aspect in which it is presented, so apparently contradictory.

These considerations may conduce to vindicate the large space and great importance given in a revelation professedly

from God to matters of a civil character, and to details apparently so common-place as the specifications for the structure and furnishings of the tabernacle, all of which, in any other case, and with no ulterior object beyond the mere regulating the affairs of a community, might be left to be supplied by the ordinary methods of administration, without needing to be established under Divine sanction. The matter assumes, however, a different aspect when ordinances, seemingly the most trivial, are found to be, like the history which forms their framework, fraught with principles of eternal truth.

§ 4. *The Chronology of Exodus.*

From the death of Joseph to the Exodus there is no note of time, save the statement in Ex. xii. 40, that 430 years elapsed between the departure from Egypt and the commencement of the sojourn of the Israelites; but whether this included the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan, or only of their posterity in Egypt, is a point greatly controverted, and must have been a subject of much consideration from an early period, as appears from some of the ancient versions. The LXX., *Cod. Vat.*, give the passage: "But the sojourning of the children of Israel, during which they dwelt in Egypt, *and in the land of Canaan*, was," &c. The Samaritan recension, "And the sojourn of the children of Israel, *and of their fathers in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt*;" which is also the reading of the LXX.,—*Cod. Alexand.* These variations from the original, though defended by Morinus, Capellus, Kennicott,¹ and many other early writers, are now almost universally regarded as interpolations, intended to obviate a chronological difficulty. The Vulgate, the Peshito or old Syriac, and Onkelos, follow the Hebrew text. Still it may be questioned whether these interpolations do not correctly convey the import of the original.

It appears, first, from various notes of time in Genesis, that from the call of Abraham to Jacob's removal to Egypt, there elapsed 215 years. Further, Levi must have been about 42

¹ Jo. Morinus, *Exercitationes Bibli-* ii., p. 663. Halæ, 1775. Kennicott,
cæ, Lib. iv. cap. 2. Paris, 1686. Cap- *State of the Printed Hebrew Text*, vol.
pellus, *Critica Sacra*, Lib. iv. c. 10, vol. i., p. 398. Oxf., 1753.

years old on his father's removal to Egypt,¹ and as he lived to the age of 137, (Exod. vi. 16,) he must have passed 95 years in Egypt. Amram, the father of Moses, married his father's sister, Jochebed, the daughter of Levi born in Egypt, (Num. xxvi. 59,) of course within the 95 years just specified; and as Moses was 80 years old at the Exodus, the sojourn in Egypt cannot have reached anything approaching 400 years, without assigning to Moses' mother at the time of his birth an age altogether incredible. Taking her age, however, at about 45, there is thus obtained for the sojourn in Egypt 215, which, added to the interval from Abraham's call to the descent into Egypt, gives the whole period of 430 years.

This was the view always taken of the matter by the Jews themselves. Josephus² is very explicit on the subject, and so also are the Rabbinical writers. The Targum of Jonathan thus paraphrases Exod. xii. 40: "And the days which the children of Israel stayed in Egypt were thirty times seven years, that is, 210 years; but 430 years had elapsed from the time when God spoke to Abraham, on the 15th day of Nisan, between the dissected parts of the animals." St. Paul also reckons the period from the promises made to Abraham to the giving of the law as 430 years, (Gal. iii. 17).

In opposition to this, however, it is maintained by the advocates of the longer period that, besides the fact of such being expressly stated in Exod. xii. 40, a sojourn of 430 years at least is demanded by other circumstances in the history. In particular, it is urged that such an increase of the Israelites, stated as amounting at the exodus to 600,000 men capable of bearing arms, (Exod. xii. 37,) and so representing a population of upwards of two millions, is in the shorter interval utterly incredible.³ And further, it is held that the 400 years of affliction to his seed announced to Abraham, (Gen. xv. 13, comp. Acts vii. 6,) is decisive of the point.⁴ Without

¹ See Alford, (Greek Test. note on Gal. iii. 17), who still holds to the LXX.

² Antiq. ii. 15, § 2. See however to the contrary, ii. 9, § 1, and B. J., v. 9, § 4.

³ Reinke, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des alt. Testaments*, vol. i. p. 114. Munst.,

1851. This is denied by Brown, (*Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 300,) who maintains that the extended period on the contrary presents a difficulty in respect to the increase of population.

⁴ Kurtz, *Geschichte des Alt. Bundes*, ii. p. 16.

insisting on the rule that prophecy is to be interpreted by history, and not conversely, history by prophecy, as the last argument would imply, it may be remarked of this case, that while no particular locality is specified as the place of oppression, the appellation, "a strange land that is not theirs," was, in regard to Abraham and his immediate posterity, more applicable to Canaan than to Egypt during the Israelitish sojourn. Until taken possession of by Joshua, Canaan, though the promised, was in reality to them a strange land; Abraham or his seed having no possession in it other than a purchased place of sepulture, and the piece of ground where for a time Jacob spread his tent, (Gen. xxxiii. 19,) and no fixed residence, (Acts vii. 5,) whereas in Egypt they held the land of Goshen by royal grant. Further, that this intimation comprised more than the Egyptian sojourn, appears from the fact that the state of exile, servitude and oppression, is limited to the fourth generation, before the close of which they should be put in possession of their own land. Now, if this was not to be reckoned from the time when the promise was made, but from some unknown, unfixed term, it could afford the patriarch little encouragement, for it might actually extend to any length, and might in these circumstances be said to resemble the oracles of heathenism more than the predictions of Omniscience. But the very fact, that the predicted servitude and oppression applied only to a portion of the time even as regards Egypt, and not to the whole period indicated, shews the danger of pressing too closely prophetic announcements of this kind. The difficulty arising from the genealogical notices some writers boldly encounter by the supposition that several generations between Kohath and Amram have been intentionally or accidentally passed over in the tables,¹ while the Pauline view, (Gal. iii. 17,) they would limit to the period of the Egyptian sojourn, on the assumption that the last renewal of the promises to Jacob, and not their first announcement to Abraham was referred to.

Such are the chief difficulties connected with Exod. xii. 40. The additions made to the passage by the versions are apparently only exegetical supplements to explain the ambiguity arising from the term עַמִּי in the second clause, which

¹ Reinke, *Beiträge*, p. 115. Kurtz, *Geschichte*, p. 18

might be taken to refer either to the "sons of Israel," as in the Eng. Ver., or to the noun "sojourning," as in the LXX. and most other versions. The rendering adopted in the English Version was sanctioned by the authority of Buddeus,¹ and several of the older writers, and indeed still finds defenders,² but its correctness is very doubtful. The historian's view seems, however, to be that, looking back from the position attained by Israel in accordance with the promises, he regarded the whole preceding experience from Abraham's call as preparatory to this redemption—the state of wandering and depression reached its lowest point, had in fact been realized in the Egyptian bondage, which might therefore be said to represent it.³ Only on some such supposition can an explanation be found of the facts deducible from various statements of the history, and which fully harmonize with the opinion of the Jews themselves, and of New Testament writers, though apparently in strong antagonism to the first impression conveyed by this passage of Scripture, if any conclusions may be drawn from the various readings of the versions and the other circumstances of the case.

SECT. III. THE THIRD BOOK OF THE PENTATEUCH.—LEVITICUS.

§ 1. *Its Name and Contents.*

The Hebrew title of the third book of the Pentateuch, taken as usual from its initial word is, וַיִּקְרָא, "And he called," which also shews it to be a continuation of the preceding history. In the LXX. it is named *Λευϊτικόν* from the fact that it treats chiefly of the sacrifices, rites and ceremonies of the Israelitish religion and worship, the charge of which was committed to the priests, the descendants of Levi, through Aaron, who had even before the Exodus been designated as "Aaron the Levite," (Exod. iv. 14,) and who with his sons constituted

¹ *Historia Eccles. Vet. Testamenti*, p. 86. Edin., 1852.

ii. 1, § 14, vol. i. p. 418. Hal. 1778.

³ Baumgarten, *Theologischer Com-*

² Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. mentar, vol. i. p. 475. Kiel, 1843.

on their Divine appointment to this office what St Paul calls *Λευιτικὴ ἱερωσύνη*, "the Levitical priesthood," (Heb. vii. 11). Corresponding also in a great measure to its subject are the Rabbinical titles *תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים* and *תּוֹרַת הַקֶּרְבָּנוֹת*,¹ "The law of the priests," and "The law of the offerings." It is not, therefore, with the ministry of the Levites, properly so called, who constituted an order distinct from, and subordinate to the priesthood, but with the general principles of the system, that this book is concerned. Of the functions of the Levites, a fuller account is given in the book of Numbers.

The contents of Leviticus are almost exclusively legislative, and in that respect it differs greatly from the other books of the Pentateuch. The only historical incidents are the consecration of Aaron and his sons to their office, (ch. viii.) their offerings on that occasion, (ix.); the death of Nadab and Abihu, two of the newly consecrated priests, (x. 1-5); and an account of the punishment of a blasphemer, (xxiv. 10-16, 23). The whole may be arranged into six parts.

I. THE LAWS REGULATING THE VARIOUS SACRIFICES AND OBLATIONS—THE PLACE WHITHER THEY WERE TO BE BROUGHT; THE ACTS BOTH OF THE OFFERER AND THE PRIEST; AND PARTLY THE OCCASIONS OF THE OFFERINGS, Chap. i-vii., viz:—

Laws of the burnt-offering, (i.); of the unbloody sacrifices or vegetable-offerings, (ii.); of the peace-offerings, (iii.); of the sin-offerings for sins of ignorance, (iv. v.); of the trespass-offerings for sins committed wittingly, (vi. 1-7, [v. 19-26]); supplemental instructions touching the altar, the duties and perquisites of the priests, and the parts of the animal interdicted for food, (vi. 8, vii. [vi. vii.]

II. ACCOUNT OF THE APPOINTMENT OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD, THE MINISTERS OF SACRIFICE, Chap. viii.-x., viz:—

The consecration of Aaron and his sons, (viii.); the first offerings of Aaron for himself and for the people; Jehovah's acceptance of the offering testified by fire, (ix.); the destruction of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, for acting presumptuously in their office; this necessitating further directions for the regulation of the priests' conduct, (x.)

III. DIRECTIONS RESPECTING VARIOUS KINDS OF UNCLEANNESS, AND THE MEANS OF PURIFICATION, Chap. xi.-xv., viz:—

Distinction between clean and unclean animals, the former only to be

¹ Hottinger, Thesaurus, p. 458. Carpzov, Introductio, vol. i. p. 101.

eaten, (xi.); regulations touching the uncleanness of women after child-birth; the offerings required for their purification, (xii.); directions to the priests for determining cases of leprosy in persons, (xiii. 1-46,) and in garments, (ver. 47-59); rites for purifying the convalescent leper, (xiv. 1-32); leprosy in walls of houses; the mode of cleansing the house in such cases, (ver. 33-57); uncleanness arising from various issues, (xv.)

IV. THE ORDINANCES OF THE YEARLY DAY OF ATONEMENT, THE OBJECT OF WHICH WAS THE PURIFICATION OF THE SANCTUARY FROM ALL THE UNCLEANNESS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, Chap. xvi.

V. LAWS CONCERNING TRANSGRESSIONS, THE MAJORITY OF WHICH INVOLVED THE PUNISHMENT OF EXCISION FROM ISRAEL, AND FOR WHICH NO ATONEMENT WAS PROVIDED BY THE LAW: Chap. xvii.-xx., viz:—

Sacrificing otherwise than to Jehovah, (xvii. 1-9); eating blood, (ver. 10-16); unlawful marriages and lusts, (xviii.); idolatry and certain other crimes, (xix. xx.)

VI. LAWS CONCERNING THE PRIESTS—THEIR MOURNING AND MARRIAGES; NECESSITY OF THEIR EXEMPTION FROM BODILY BLEMISH—QUALITIES ALSO REQUIRED IN THE VICTIMS WHICH THEY OFFERED, Chap. xxi. xxii.

VII. LAWS TOUCHING THE SACRED FESTIVALS, VOWS, THINGS DEVOTED, AND TITHES, Chap. xxiii.-xxvii., viz:—

The seven great festivals,—the Sabbath; the passover; the feasts of first-fruits, of pentecost, of trumpets; the day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles, (xxiii.); various ceremonial and judicial laws, (xxiv.); recapitulation of the law in Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, respecting the sabbatical years; the jubilee enjoined, &c., (xxv.); various promises and threatenings, (xxvi.); an appendix on vows, things devoted, and tithes dedicated to the sanctuary, (xxvii.)

§ 2. *The Relation of Leviticus to the preceding Books.*

The contents of Leviticus clearly shew it to be a continuation and development of the Sinaitic legislation begun in the book of Exodus, particularly as regards the law of sacrifice and the priestly functions. The scene of Leviticus is still the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai; but the special place of the legislation is here, however, different. It is no longer from or on Mount Sinai, but “from the tabernacle of meeting,” *מִאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, situated in the midst of the Israelitish camp, that Jehovah holds communication with, and makes known His commandments to Moses, (Lev. i. 1,) whom He was already

pleased to accept as mediator between Himself and the people, (Ex. xx. 19; comp. Deut. v. 27-31). The statement with which the book of Leviticus thus opens, besides shewing the close literary connexion which subsists between it and the book of Exodus, which concluded with narrating how, on the rearing up of the tabernacle, it was taken possession of by the glory of Jehovah, (Ex. xl. 34), points also to the fulfilment of the promise that this should henceforth be the place of the Divine presence and communications, (Ex. xxv. 22), and, in short, the theocratic centre of the nation.

There is, moreover, manifested in Leviticus, as regards the purposes declared in the theocratic constitution, a great step in advance. At the Theophany of Sinai, the people "removed and stood afar off," (Ex. xx. 18,) but here God is not only dwelling in the midst of Israel according to His promise, (Ex. xxv. 8,) and as a king issuing his commands to his subjects, but He is also, as a father, inviting them as children to come into His presence. This is particularly marked by the circumstance, that the very first communications made to Moses from the tabernacle respected sacrifice—a rite which was already recognized as the medium of approach to Jehovah. In this fact it was plainly intimated, that as Jehovah had now drawn near to His people by taking up His residence among them, they also might draw near to Him, and indeed were invited to do so, but only in and by sacrifice. The reason of this condition, however, was not only plain from the whole of the preceding history and revelations, but it also commended itself to the individual consciousness, on the ground of guilt, with respect to Jehovah and His law. Sacrifices were not instituted for the first time under the law, although specific directions are here given concerning them; first, in respect to their kind or classification, as divided into *bloody* and *unbloody* sacrifices or offerings, the latter of which only, in special cases, are properly a new institution; secondly, as to their object, according to which they are viewed as *sin-offerings* or *trespass-offerings*—the distinction between which, however, is not very apparent—and *thank-offerings*; and thirdly, the circumstances of *time*, *place*, and *manner* in which the several sacrifices were required, or should be presented.

The offerings of sacrifice, moreover, required appropriate

ministers, or priests, more especially under a ritual so minute and operose as that now introduced, although that was by no means the primary end of the institution. And here, also, there is a feature worthy of notice in the arrangement adopted. As sacrifice itself was not a new institution of the law, neither was the appointment of a priesthood, as is evident from various notices in the history of Genesis and Exodus respecting, for instance, Melchizedek, Jethro the priest of Midian, and the heathen priesthood of Egypt. It was an institution which seems to have grown out of the wants of human nature, though, prior to the giving of the law, it did not appear as possessed of any Divine sanction. Now, however, for the first time, the priestly office was brought under the strict ordinances of law, and henceforth constituted a distinct order in the Israelitish state. The sacerdotal functions, hitherto exercised by any individual at will, or at least by heads of families, were now by express statute limited exclusively to Aaron and his sons—an arrangement which may seem at first sight to present somewhat of a retrograde character, as interposing additional obstacles in the way of man's approach to God, and so to be opposed to that advance on the part of God Himself towards man, indicated, as already remarked, by the opening announcements of Leviticus, and also to the progress otherwise marking the scheme of Divine revelation. In reality, however, this arrangement served to carry out the idea involved in Israel's theocratic relation to Jehovah and to the nations of the earth, of "a kingdom of priests," by presenting it in exercise and in actual life. Aaron and his sons had been already designated by Jehovah for this service, (Ex. xxviii, 1,) and the arrangement was tacitly understood even previously, (Ex. xxvii. 21); but it was only now when the sanctuary was erected where their services were to be performed, and the directions for that service were given, that their consecration was proceeded with, and in accordance with the instructions previously laid down (Ex. xxviii, xxix.) in reference to this matter.

But more particularly, the institution of a priesthood, as also the multiplication of sacrifices, with their various distinctions, as prescribed in Leviticus, was closely connected with, and was, indeed, necessitated by, the great advance in the Divine revelation itself at this period, and more directly by

the disclosures which the law, as announced from Sinai, afforded of the nature of sin, and of the sinner's culpability before God. It was much the same, also, with the other great class of laws which constitute a prominent part of this book, and respect various forms of uncleanness, and the means of effecting purification as well of the person, as of the Israelitish camp and private dwellings, and which are, as to their origin, evidently referable to the same principle.

These regulations, especially those relating to the priests, have a very close connexion with some of the purposes announced in the book of Exodus with respect to Israel's separation, in order to their constituting "a holy nation," as well as "a kingdom of priests," (Ex. xix. 6,) while they were also intended to inculcate the lesson, (Ex. xix. 22,) afterwards expressed in the awful judgment on Nadab and Abihu: "This is it that the Lord spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified," (Lev. x. 3). As the ordinance for the appointment of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood had respect to "the kingdom of priests," and to Israel's own mediatorial character, so the laws regarding purification had reference to that other element of *holiness* in the same promise, as a characteristic required of all who should be admitted into any such special relation to a holy God, and which could be acquired only in the use of the means which He Himself prescribed and provided for that purpose. These ordinances, then, which required purity in all external relations, were a representation, outwardly and in figure, of the Divine holiness, which must characterise all who are consecrated to God, (Lev. xix. 2,) whatever may be their functions, though especially requisite in the case of such as are, by their office, called to have direct communication with Him. Hence not only the freedom from all bodily impurity, but also the absence of all personal defects and deformities, required as a condition indispensable in the ministers of the sanctuary.

§ 3. *The Character of the Legislation of Leviticus.*

The legislation of Leviticus is presented upon the whole rather according to its historical progress than in any strictly

systematic form. Still it is much more systematic than the laws of the preceding book of Exodus. Another peculiarity distinguishing it from that both of Exodus and of Numbers, is, that it is limited almost entirely to matters which concern religion and the sanctuary; and so is not mixed up as are these books with civil and judicial enactments. The only exception is Lev. xix., but even there the enactments have more of a moral than of a civil aspect. And even those regulations which respected the distinction between clean and unclean animals, and which bore so directly upon the dietary of the Israelites, as to constitute one of the strongest barriers to social intercourse between them and the neighbouring nations, are plainly declared to have a higher religious purpose, connected with, and conducive to, holiness, and conformity to the Divine character, (Lev. xi. 43-45.)

Indeed it will appear, as already partially shewn under the preceding head, that all the ordinances enjoined in Leviticus had a special reference to the peculiar relation to Jehovah which Israel occupied in consequence of the covenant and the theocratic constitution. It is therefore only by a consideration of their suitableness primarily in this respect, and not by any other or a merely absolute standard, that their character or value is to be estimated, or any correct opinion formed of the penalties by which their observance as a part of Divine worship was enforced. Another though subordinate element to be attended to in judging of these ordinances, ritual as well as civil and judicial, was the character of the Israelites at the time of their establishment, after a long sojourn in Egypt and subjection to all the deteriorating influences of a state of servitude and a constant exposure to the sensuous worship practised around them. These circumstances must undoubtedly, in various respects, mentally and morally, have induced a grossness of conception and an obstinacy of disposition which required spiritual truths to be presented in the simplest and most palpable form, and to be accompanied by the most stringent discipline. A ritual less burdensome and less stringent than the Levitical, would, it is easy to conceive, have been ill adapted for counteracting the pernicious influences imbibed in Egypt, and for preventing an imitation of the practices of the inhabitants of Canaan, into whose territories the Israelites were

about to enter, (Lev. xviii. 3, 24; xx. 23.) The effect upon them of the gross practices of Egypt was already painfully witnessed in the apostasy connected with the worship of "the golden calf," and, as it may be said, ere the awful sounds of Sinai forbidding idolatry had fully died away. This was an incident which, though it may not present that grossness of conception regarding Jehovah sometimes attributed to it, clearly shews that the people had not yet attained to any adequate idea of the spiritual and living God with whom they had entered into covenant.

These considerations, arising from the character and previous training of the Israelites, though not without an important bearing on this subject, furnish, however, it is necessary to remark, but a very insufficient explanation of the character and object of the Levitical institutions as presented in this book. While it may be readily supposed that the scheme was formally, and to a considerable degree, affected by these considerations, or, in other words, was wisely adapted, like every part of the divine procedure, to the exigencies of the people for whose immediate use it was intended, and was also in harmony with that particular stage of revelation, one of its ulterior objects was to elevate and enlarge the conceptions of the Israelites respecting Divine things and relations beyond the narrow limits within which the previous history gave too abundant indications that their ideas were as yet confined. With respect to this, it had also in view to provide a basis for the revelations still in prospect, whether given by prophets or apostles,—under the law, or on its abrogation through a more perfect and spiritual dispensation.

The fundamental ideas of the legislation of Leviticus, regarded from this point of view, are first the necessity of an atonement in any dealings with God, and in this again is involved the necessity of sanctification—a principle also more directly taught by the subsequent prescriptions respecting purification. Next, in connexion with the necessity of sanctification, certain indications are given of its nature. The nature and the necessity of atonement were truths already partially recognised, but the additions made under the law, in respect both to the number and variety of sacrifices, while shewing the willingness of God to forgive "iniquity, and trans-

gression, and sin," (Ex. xxxiv. 7,) shewed also more than ever the deep guiltiness of man, and the constant need he had for having recourse to the blood of atonement. It was the same also with the numerous and minute rules respecting purification, extending even to cases of bodily diseases, as the leprosy in particular, and to the natural offices of generation, in all of which there were seen representations or elements of sin. Further, the distinctions made by the law in the natural world around him (Lev. xi.), presented continually to the Israelite a type both of the necessity and nature of sanctification, of which he was duly admonished, were it only by the food set before him. But not only so, in his agrarian calling, too, he was reminded of the same truths; in his fields and in his vineyards, in the labours of his cattle, and in the rearing of them he must carefully avoid anything like incongruity; and the same also with respect to the very garments which he wore.—See Lev. xix. 19 compared with Deut. xxii. 10, where is given the additional example, "Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together;" and ver. 9, where the principle of these injunctions is explained: "Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds; lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard *be defiled*."

Another important principle taught in this book by its multiplicity of sacrifices and purifying rites, was the insufficiency of these ordinances themselves to take away sin, either in its guilt or its uncleanness. The view in which this matter is presented in Heb. x. 2, must have no doubt frequently suggested itself to the more discerning among the ancient worshippers. The continued round of sacrifices, stated and occasional, was itself a circumstance which clearly exhibited their insufficiency. But if any doubt still remained on this point, it would be completely removed by the appointment, in addition to all these, of the expiatory ordinances of the great Day of Atonement, the account of which constitutes an important section of the Book of Leviticus, and the object of which was to make atonement for "the holy sanctuary," "the tabernacle of meeting," "the altar," "the priests," and "all the people of the congregation," (Lev. xvi. 33.)

Another very marked feature of the legislation of Leviticus, is its prophetic aspect. Whilst there is but little in

this book that can strictly be denominated history, much less indeed than in any other part of the Pentateuch, a considerable portion of its contents is of a prophetic nature. Besides the many direct references to the land which was to be the proximate termination of the people's wanderings, the law-giver in various passages depicts their future history, and provides for it. The law of the Jubilee, (xxv.), for instance, had respect to the possession of the land, and its continuance as originally apportioned among the tribes and families, without the power of alienation. This was to be secured by a provision, which guarded against poverty on the one hand and against oppression on the other. But still more expressly is the Israelitish future set forth in chap. xxvi., where it is shown to be dependent on their relation to the law under which they were now brought. Their obedience to the law, it was declared, would be rewarded with blessings, while the opposite conduct would make them obnoxious to the curse. "Here," as Hävernicks remarks, "is the most striking evidence of the higher prophetic point of view, which alone made it possible to bring the present and the future in such a way into their right relation to one another. The consecration of the whole law, its sublime application to the entire sphere of the life of the nation as set apart to God, is the law relating to the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee. Even here the language of legal appointment passes into the prophetic style of promise, (xxv. 18, &c.) But the lawgiver is also fully aware that the people will not adhere to these commandments, and that Jehovah himself will in his own way fulfil his law of the Sabbath, when violated by the people, (xxvi. 34.) Thus in the law itself, prominence is given to its prophetic aspect. At the same time, the language embraces the entire future of the people; their exile on account of disobedience, their sufferings, and their deliverance from them," (ver. 44.)¹

But there are other evidences which no less clearly prove that Leviticus, and indeed the whole Pentateuch, had a prophetic aspect more extended than that which is deducible from such direct testimonies respecting the future as those referred to. There are numerous indications in the Pentateuch itself,

¹ Einleitung, I, ii., p. 484. Keil's ed., p. 420.

in the Psalms and prophetic writings, which constitute a commentary upon it from its own or original Hebrew point of view, and more especially in the New Testament writings, a point still further in advance, that the whole Levitical system was a prophecy of the future, and that while furnishing religious instruction to the Israelitish worshippers in a form suitable to their apprehension, impressing upon them great principles by their constant exhibition and exercise in outward and sensible form, and so fitted to advance them gradually in the knowledge of spiritual things, it contained in it principles which, though rudimental, are the very truths of the Gospel.¹ The place which Leviticus, in particular, holds with respect to the New Testament, will in general appear from the circumstance, that in the latter there are upwards of forty references to its various ordinances;² but more especially will this be seen from the treatment of some of its leading principles in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which may be styled, not improperly, “an apostolic exposition of Leviticus.”

§ 4. *The Chronology of Leviticus.*

The only specific indication of time and place with respect to this book, is that occurring in its conclusion : “These are the commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses, for the children of Israel, in Mount Sinai,” (xxvii. 34, comp. xxvi. 46,) not properly *in* the mount, but *at* or *near*, (see i. 1,) as the preposition *?* is frequently taken. But it is generally inferred, from a comparison of Exod. xl. 17, with Num. i. 1, that it comprises the history of one month, being the first of the second year after Israel’s departure from Egypt.³ Others, but with less probability, would limit it to the eight days occupied with the consecration of the priests.

¹ Insignem Novi Testamenti libris Leviticus lucem affundit.—Carpzov, Introductio, vol i., p. 103.

² Willet, Hexapla on Leviticus, Preface. Lond. 1631.

³ Carpzov, Introductio, vol. i. p. 105.

SECT. IV.—THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE PENTATEUCH.—
NUMBERS.

§ 1. *Its Name and Contents.*

The Hebrew name of the fourth book of the Pentateuch is sometimes, from its initial word, וַיְדַבֵּר, “And he spoke;” but more frequently it is called בְּמִדְבָּר “In the wilderness,” from the more specific term which follows. In the LXX. it is styled Ἀριθμοί, rendered by the Vulgate “Numeri,” under which name it is cited by all the Latin fathers, with the exception of Tertullian,¹ who employed the Greek title. It was so named from the census of the tribes, with which it opens. With this also correspond the Rabbinical names of the book, סֵפֶר הַמִּסְפָּרִים and סֵפֶר הַפְּקוּדִים,² *Liber numerorum* and *Liber recensionum*. None of these titles, however, sufficiently indicates the character of this book, which, besides the census, taken on two different occasions, and various lists of persons and places, which may have led to the adoption of the Greek name, contains much important matter, both of an historical and legislative character.

The historical portion of the book of Numbers continues the narrative from the breaking up of the encampment at Sinai, in the second year after the departure from Egypt, till the arrival of the Israelites on the borders of the promised land, in the fortieth year of their wanderings. The legislative portion, dating from “the first of the second month,” (ch. i. 1), gives the directions for the census and other preparations for the march, and details the further progress, partly in its civil aspect, of the Sinaitic legislation, but chiefly in the form of additions to the Levitical ordinances. Historically, the book may be divided into three sections.

I. PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEPARTURE FROM SINAI, WHERE THE ISRAELITES HAD ENCAMPT ABOUT A YEAR, Chap. i.-x. 10, viz.:—

1. Numeration and mustering of the tribes, the places severally assigned to them in their encampment around the sanctuary, and on the march. (i.-iv.)

2. Regulations for maintaining the purity of the camp and congregation (v. vi.); preparation for, and the mode of, conducting the duties

¹ Carpzov, *Introductio*, vol. i., p. 120. ² Hottinger, *Thesaurus*, p. 458.

of the sanctuary (vii. viii.); the laws of the Passover repeated, with an additional provision for such as might be unable to observe it at the proper time (ix. 1-14); notice of what regulated the encamping and journeying (ix. 15-23); the preparation and use of the silver trumpets (x. 1.-10.)

II. THE BREAKING UP OF THE CAMP, AND THE JOURNEY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FORTIETH YEAR, INCLUDING THE LAWS GIVEN DURING THAT PERIOD, Chap. x. 11-xix., viz.:—

1. The departure from Sinai (x. 11-35); the chief occurrences of the second year; the mission of the spies; the sentence excluding from the promised land the whole adult generation which left Egypt, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb (xi.-xiv.)

2. Laws concerning meat- (meal-) offerings and first-fruits; on sins of ignorance, and presumptuous sins; notice of a Sabbath-breaker; the law respecting fringes on garments (xv.)

3. Rebellion of Korah and others, with the Divine confirmation of the Aaronic priesthood; various ordinances respecting the priests and Levites, occasioned by the foresaid rebellion, (xvi.-xviii.)

4. Provision for the purification from defilements contracted by touching a dead body, (xix.)

III. INCIDENTS AND ORDINANCES OF THE FIRST TEN MONTHS OF THE FORTIETH YEAR OF THE WANDERING, Chap. xx-xxxvi., viz.:—

1. Death of Miriam; the people dispute with Moses and Aaron for water (xx. 1-13); message to the King of Edom; Israel's return to Mount Hor, where Aaron died (xx. 14-29); victory over the King of Arad (xxi. 1-3); murmuring of the people on the journey from Mount Hor to Pisgah, and their punishment by fiery serpents (ver. 4-20); overthrow of the kings Sihon and Og; journey to the plains of Moab (xxi. 21,-xxii. 1).

2. Balaam and his prophecies (xxii. 2,-xxiv.); idolatry of the Israelites and their punishment (xxv. 1-18); a new census of the people (xxv. 19,-xxvi.); law respecting heiresses (xxvii. 1-11); choice and consecration of Joshua to be Moses' successor, and the leader of the people to Canaan (xxvii. 12-23); laws of the daily offerings, festal-offerings, and vows (xxviii.-xxx.)

3. War with and overthrow of the Midianites; division of the trans-Jordanic territories among the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh (xxxi., xxxii.); list of stations on the march from Egypt to the plains of Moab by Jordan (xxxiii. 1-49).

4. Renewed instructions for the extermination of the Canaanites; directions as to the boundaries, and the division of Canaan among the remaining tribes; the Levitical cities and cities of refuge (xxxiii. 50,-xxxv.); on the marriage of heiresses (xxxvi.)

§ 2. *Relation of Numbers to the preceding Books.*

The very close connection between this and the two books by which it is immediately preceded will be at once apparent from the above summary of its contents. The three middle books of the Pentateuch have for their object to record the progress of the Israelites under the leadership of Moses, and the supreme guidance and protection of Jehovah, from Egypt to the confines of the land promised to them for a possession, and to shew the various provisions made for them, not only as a people, but a people set apart for special purposes, and on that account brought under the operation of a peculiar constitution and polity. The subject is thus one, though presented in the several books according to its progressive stages; the sequel often completing arrangements and enactments but partially carried out in the earlier books. Thus Leviticus, while regulating the portions accruing to the priests from the sacrifices, the shew-bread, and the various offerings appointed by the law, makes no reference to the case of the Levites, who, though occupying an ancillary place, were closely associated with the priests in sacred things, save only as regarded the cities to be allotted to them (Lev. xxv. 32, 33). This omission was, doubtless, owing to the fact, that the Levites had not yet been actually set apart to their office. Not till Num. iii. iv. are the functions of this order particularly described, where the reason for their being thus set apart from the other tribes is stated to be, that they had been substituted for the first-born, who were Jehovah's since the day that they were saved from the destruction which came upon the first-born of the Egyptians (iii. 12, 13 : comp. Ex. xiii. 12, 15); while their consecration is not recorded till Num. viii. But, throughout, Num. i.-x. is closely related to what forms the main subject of the book of Leviticus,—the concerns of the sanctuary and its services. Further, the general ordinance for consecrating to Jehovah the tenth of all the produce of the land (Lev. xxvii. 30), is more precisely explained in Num. xviii.; and even the earlier law, regulating the cities of the Levites, is rendered more precise in Num. xxxv.

Still more striking is the relation of the census recorded in Num. i. to the earlier one noticed in Ex. xxxviii., arising from

the remarkable fact, that though separated by a considerable interval, yet the total in the two cases is precisely the same. This circumstance has been productive of many erroneous conclusions, and, as always happens in difficulties of this kind, advantage has been taken of it by several writers to discredit the account of the transactions. When the matter, however, is more carefully examined, it not only shews a close connexion between these two books of the Pentateuch, but also confirms their authenticity. The census of the first year (Ex. xxx. 12; xxxviii. 26) was ordered for the levying of the poll-tax of half-a-shekel, from which a portion of the cost of the erection of the tabernacle was to be derived, and to which it was in fact applied, as stated in Ex. xxxviii. 25-27; the object of the other was to regulate the order of encampment and march. For this latter purpose there was not needed a census properly so called: all that was necessary was a review of the tribes, the former census being made a basis—a review simply of the numbers of each tribe. That this was the mode of procedure appears from the prominence given to the fact that the second enumeration was made *לְבֵית אֲבוֹתָם לְמִשְׁפָּחָתָם*, “After their families, by the house of their fathers,” (Num. i. 2, 28,) this being the only necessary addition to the first numbering.¹ But the strongest confirmation of this view is found in the nature of the thing itself. “When Eleazar and Ithamar had already so recently made out their enumeration of the people for one purpose, it is altogether unlikely that their lists would be disregarded, and a work so onerous be gone through a second time *de integro*. It may be safely presumed, that the list first made would be put into the hands of the officers who were to superintend the new enrolment; and that as the number, supposing it to have been accurately stated in the first instance, could not have become materially different in so short a space of time, the main purpose would be to authenticate it, without disturbing it any further than to count, instead of each individual in any company who had died in the interval, the name of some one who had grown up to full age.”²

¹ Hävernick, *Einleitung*, I. ii. 486. E. T., p. 306.

² Palfrey, *Lectures on Jewish Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 313, quoted in Bush, *Notes on Numbers*, p. 11, New York,

1857. Bush's distinction between *סֵפֶר* and *פֶּקֶד* (p. 15), will avail little, as the latter term is used of the first census as well as of the second.

The other census, mentioned in the book of Numbers, taken in the plains of Moab towards the close of the abode in the desert (xxvi.), differs greatly from the earlier enumeration. Some tribes show an increase, others a diminution of their numbers in the interval, the largest decrease, more than one-half of their original number ($59,300 - 22,200 = 37,100$), being in the tribe of Simeon. It is also noticeable that in the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.), this tribe is entirely passed over. These facts—the remarkable decrease and the virtual exclusion from the number of the tribes—are probably referable to the participation of this tribe with their prince Zimri (Numb. xxv. 14) in the sin of Baal-Peor, and their consequent exposure to the destruction which followed. The decrease of the Reubenites also may be attributable, in part at least, to the Divine judgment which followed the conspiracy of Korah, and of his associates, Dathan and Abiram, who belonged to this tribe, (xvi. 1 ; xxvi. 9.) These incidents throw considerable light on the state of matters presented by these enumerations, which altogether fully accord with the circumstance, that by this time the older generation was extinct, according to the Divine sentence pronounced thirty-eight years before, (xxvi. 64, 65, comp. xiv. 23, 28, 29.)

The following table of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness, according to Robinson,¹ will further exhibit the relation of Numbers to the other books of the Pentateuch:—

1. *From Egypt to Sinai.*

<i>Exodus.</i>	<i>Numbers.</i>
From Rameses (xii. 37).	From Rameses (xxxiii. 3).
1. Succoth (xii. 37).	Succoth (xxxiii. 5).
2. Etham (xiii. 20).	Etham (xxxiii. 6).
3. Pi-hahiroth (xiv. 2).	Pi-hahiroth (xxxiii. 7.)
4. Passage through the Red Sea ; and three days' march into the desert of Shur (xiv. 22, xv. 22).	Passage through the Red Sea ; and three days' march in the desert of Etham (xxxiii. 8).
5. Marah (xv. 23).	Marah (xxxiii. 8).
6. Elim (xv. 27).	Elim (xxxiii. 9).
7.	Encampment by the Red Sea (xxxiii. 10).
8. Desert of Sin (xvi. 1).	Desert of Sin (xxxiii. 11).

¹ Biblical Researches, vol. ii., pp. 526-528.

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|-----|-------------------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 9. | . | . | . | . | Dophkah (xxxiii. 12). |
| 10. | . | . | . | . | Alush (xxxiii. 13). |
| 11. | Rephidim (xvii. 1). | | | | Rephidim (xxxiii. 14). |
| 12. | Wilderness of Sinai (xix. 1). | | | | Wilderness of Sinai (xxxiii. 15). |

2. *From Sinai to Kadesh the second time.*

Numbers x.-xx.

Numbers xxxiii.

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|---|---|
| From the Wilderness of Sinai (x. 12). | From the Wilderness of Sinai (ver. 16.) |
| 13. Taberah (xi. 3; Deut. ix. 22). | |
| 14. Kibroth-Hattaavah (xi. 34). | Kibroth-Hattaavah (16). |
| 15. Hazeroth (xi. 35). | Hazeroth (17). |
| 16. Kadesh, in the desert of Paran
(xii. 16, xiii. 26, comp. also
Deut. i. 2, 19). Here they turn
back and wander for 38 years.
(Num. xiv. 25, &c.) | |
| 17. | Rithmah (18). |
| 18. | Rimmon-Parez (19). |
| 19. | Libnah (20). |
| 20. | Rissah (21). |
| 21. | Khelathah (22). |
| 22. | Mount Shapher (23). |
| 23. | Haradah (24). |
| 24. | Makheloth (25). |
| 25. | Tahath (26). |
| 26. | Tarah (27). |
| 27. | Mithcah (28). |
| 28. | Hashmonah (29). |
| 29. | Moseroth (30). |
| 30. | Bene-jaakan (31). |
| 31. | Hor-hagidgad (32). |
| 32. | Jotbathah (33). |
| 33. | Ebronah (34). |
| 34. | Ezion-gaber (35). |
| 35. Return to Kadesh (xx. 1.) | Kadesh (36). |

3. *From Kadesh to the Jordan.*

Numb. xx. xxi. Deut. i. ii. x.

Numbers xxxiii.

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|---|-------------------|
| From Kadesh (xx. 22). | From Kadesh (37). |
| 36. Beeroth Bene-jaakan (Deut. x. 6). | |
| 37. Mount Hor (xx. 22), or Mosera,
(Deut. x. 6). | Mount Hor (37). |
| 38. Gudgodah (Deut. x. 7). | |
| 39. Jotbath (Deut. x. 7). | |

40. Way of the Red Sea (Numb. xxi. 4), by Elath and Ezion-gaber (Deut. ii. 8).
41. Zalmonah (41).
42. Punon (42).
43. Oboth (Numb. xxi. 10). Oboth (43).
44. Ije-abarim (Numb. xxi. 11). Ije-abarim or Jim (44, 45).
45. The brook Zered (Numb. xxi. 12, Deut. ii. 13, 14).
46. The brook Arnon (Numb. xxi. 13, Deut. ii. 24).
47. Dibon-gad (45).
48. Almon-diblathaim (46).
49. Beer (well) in the desert (Numb. xxi. 16, 18).
50. Mattanah (xxi. 18).
51. Nahaliel (xxi. 19).
52. Bamoth (xxi. 19).
53. Pisgah, part of Abarim (xxi. 20). Mountains of Abarim (47).
54. By the way of Bashan to the plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho (Numb. xxi. 33, xxii. 1). Plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho (48.)

It must be added in explanation, that the assumption of the Israelites being twice at Kadesh, as in the above table, while it serves greatly to harmonize and render intelligible the several accounts of their journeyings,¹ is itself open to objection.²

§ 3. *The Legislation of Numbers.*

The legislation of this book has partly for its object to supplement and complete several of the institutions and enactments of the preceding books. Besides the regulations noticed under the last head respecting the Levites, their services and emoluments, on which this book supplements the book of Leviticus, there is an important ordinance with respect to the celebration of the Passover, (Numb. ix. 10, 11,) in addition to the rules contained in the book of Exodus. There is, however, much that is new; as, for instance, the laws respecting the woman suspected of unfaithfulness by her husband, or the trial of jealousy, (v. 12-31); the Nazarite, (vi. 1-22); and the ordinance of the red heifer, or the water of separation, (xix.)

¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii., p. 195.

² See Winer, *R. W. B.*, Art. *Wüste*, vol. ii., p. 700. 3te Ausg., Leip. 1848.

The first thing noticeable in the Legislation of Numbers is the directions for mustering the tribes and regulating their encampments, with which the book opens. The Israelites, at the outset of their journey, had been termed "the hosts of Jehovah," (Ex. xii. 41,) and they were said to have gone out of the land of Egypt "by their armies," (ver. 51,) and "harnessed," Eng. Ver., or, as others understand the expression, "in military order," (xiii. 18). But henceforth this organization shall be rendered more orderly and complete. The rude, undisciplined horde, released from servitude, needed among their first lessons one on *order*—particularly necessary in the economy of rites and ceremonies under which they were now brought, as indeed it is still requisite in the Christian Church, (1 Cor. xiv. 40). The enumeration and mustering of the tribes under their respective princes, besides securing the discipline of the camp, contributed also to preserve the distinction of tribes and families, which was a matter of primary importance in the case of the Israelites, as indicated not only by the arrangements which assigned distinct portions of territory to the several tribes, but also by the enactments which prevented the alienation of territory, or its transference from one tribe to another, and which were completed by the regulation respecting the marriage of heiresses, (Num. xxxvi.); so that, in this respect, there is a distinct connexion between the regulations at the very outset of this book, and those with which it concludes.

The law of the Nazarite (Num. vi.) exhibited, more fully than any previous institution, the idea expressed by the consecration of the Israelites as a people to Jehovah. The priestly institution had already presented a specific example of this consecration in action, but much more was this seen in the case of the Nazarite, whose very designation pointed him out as "the separate one," as expressed in his vow, the object of which was "for separating to Jehovah," (ver. 2). The separation of the priests to the service of Jehovah, presented the idea as consisting in a particular office or calling, but the Nazarite set it forth in a more personal aspect or relation. "The Nazarite was to be a living type and image of holiness; he was to be, in his person and habits, a symbol of sincere consecration and devotedness to the Lord. . . . The Naza-

rite was an acted symbolical lesson, in a religious and moral respect; and the outward observances to which he was bound, were merely intended to exhibit to the bodily eye the separation from everything sinful and impure required of the Lord's servants."¹ It expressed in figure the exhortation of 2 Cor. vi. 17. The ordinance of the red heifer (Num. xix.) was also very important, as unfolding, farther than any of the previous institutions, the necessity of holiness, and the removal of all causes of impurity. The consternation of the people, (xvii. 12, 13), arising from the death of so many of their brethren, in consequence of their murmuring against Moses and Aaron, (xvi. 41,) for the Divine judgment on Korah and his associates, and from the legal uncleanness contracted by the surviving friends and relatives, which precluded their participation in the services of the sanctuary, gave more immediate occasion, it would appear, to this institution, which was specially intended for the removal of all such hindrances to public worship. The defilements for which this ordinance was provided could not, in many cases, be avoided; they would be contracted in the very performance of duties—the last offices of humanity to departed friends and relatives—the neglect of which would be attended with serious consequences to the community, apart entirely from higher considerations, and yet, in the very performance of these duties, an uncleanness was contracted which was attended with various disabilities; and if not removed in the manner here prescribed, it exposed the offender to excision from his people. Without entering into particulars, it may suffice to remark that death was thus placed more vividly than ever in the aspect in which it was presented by the history of the fall, as the fruit of sin, or, according to the language of the New Testament, as “its wages,” and from every association with which the Israelites must be separated.

§ 4. *The Prophetic Intimations of Numbers.*

Like all the other books of the Pentateuch, this contains a large prophetic element, as well in its history as in its legislation; besides more direct references to the future. Unlike,

¹ Fairbairn, *Typology*, vol. ii. p. 391. Edin. 1857.

however, the other prophetic intimations which were made immediately by Jehovah to individuals who stood to him in a special relation—as Adam, Noah, the Israelitish patriarchs, and afterwards mediately to the Israelites themselves, through His servant Moses—the more express prophetic utterances of the book of Numbers proceed entirely from a different quarter as to their secondary source. The history and prophecies of Balaam (ch. xxii.-xxiv.) form a remarkable episode in the Pentateuch, and in the history of Divine revelation. Here quite an unusual direction is given to the prophetic stream, and yet there is in this a remarkable fitness, in respect to its attendant circumstances. The position of the Israelites at this time was one of peculiar difficulty and trial. They were about to commence their conflict with the powerful nations of Canaan, the very idea of which had so alarmed their fathers, that on the very threshold of the Promised Land they meditated a return to Egypt (Num. xiv. 4). Now, it must have been a source of great encouragement that the intimations of their victory over all opposition, through their Almighty Helper, should proceed from the enemy himself, to whom also they were directly addressed, and that such as had been fully disposed to curse the people of Jehovah were, notwithstanding, compelled to bless and to hear them blessed, (xxiv. 10). There was here a testimony reluctantly extorted, and therefore not open to any imputation of partiality or flattery, which might attach to a voluntary expression of one earnestly desiring the success here predicted.

§ 5. *The Chronology of Numbers.*

The narrative begins on the first of the second month of the second year, from the Exodus, (Num. i. 1); it was not however until the tenth day that the march commenced, the intervening period being occupied with the preliminaries stated in the history. Near the end of the book it is mentioned that Aaron's death happened on the first of the fifth month of the fortieth year, (xxxiii. 38.) There is no subsequent note of time until Deut. i. 3, resumes the narrative on the first of the eleventh month. The period embraced in the Book of Numbers, is thus thirty-eight years and nine months, but most of

the transactions recorded occurred at the beginning, and towards the close of that period, about thirty-eight years of it being passed over almost in silence. Breaking up from Sinai on the twentieth of the second month, (x. 11,) corresponding to the early part of May, the Israelites after several marches reached the wilderness of Paran, (xii. 16,) on the confines of Canaan. The spies sent thence to search the land, returned after forty days, bringing with them "ripe grapes," (xiii. 23,) a fact which indicates the season of the year to have been August or September.¹ Here the people were doomed to wander in the wilderness forty years, (xiv. 34,) and ordered back into the desert by the way of the Red Sea, (ver. 25.) The next chronological notice is that in the first month of the fortieth year they reached the desert of Zin, (xx. 1.)

The cause of this interruption in the narrative was not the want of materials in general, though, it may be, of materials appropriate to the historian's purpose, and this is referable to the circumstance, that the people were virtually out of covenant and under a sentence of condemnation. In consequence of this, the divine communications ceased, and with these ceased too the materials which constitute either sacred history, or theocratic legislation, so that in fact the historian's silence here, as on the longer period between the Books of Genesis and Exodus, shows distinctly the precise object of his work.

This delay in obtaining entrance into the Promised Land, so conflicting with the expectations previously raised, particularly by the instructions at the commencement of this book, for taking a census of all that were able *to go forth to war* in Israel, (i. 3,)—terms obviously pointing to the conflicts with the Canaanites as imminent, and accordingly so disappointing to the hopes of the people, and especially of their leader Moses, furnishes, when closely considered, a special confirmation of the truth of the history, and of the fact, that all the arrangements of this undertaking were under the acknowledged authority of Jehovah.

In considering this remarkable crisis in the Israelitish history, notice must be taken of the causes which led to it, and of the results which followed. The proposal of the people

¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 194.

with respect to the mission of the spies, (Deut. i. 22,) indicated a disposition, which however commendable in ordinary circumstances, was in theirs decidedly criminal. In other cases it would be judged a wise and necessary precaution, but here it manifested only a qualified assent to the divine command, to take possession of the land, and distrust in the special guidance and protection hitherto afforded them. This disposition was fully disclosed on the return of the spies with a discouraging report: it was proposed, (Numb. xiv. 1-4,) and even an attempt was actually made, (Neh. ix. 17,) to return to Egypt. The Israelites' exclusion at this time from Caanan, is in Heb. iii. 19, ascribed to "unbelief." From unbelief there is often but one step to presumption. So it was here, after having been judicially interdicted from proceeding further to the conquest of the land, they made a desperate attempt to advance in defiance of the divine warning, but they soon became conscious of their temerity, (Num. xiv. 40-45.) Now as impatient to reach the promised possession, as but lately they were overwhelmed at the prospect of the difficulties of the task, the resignation with their lot, which the people ultimately manifested, cannot be viewed otherwise than as the result of an experience that they could effect nothing without God. So, too, though from another principle, the acquiescence of Moses himself in what must have so painfully disappointed the great object of his life and labours. "The resignation of Moses," remarks Hävernicks, "and the continuance of the people in the wilderness, can be explained only by acts displaying the divine power and glory. Human ingenuity and skill in explanation are in this case thoroughly put to shame."¹ No mere political schemer or aspirant, or religious enthusiast would thus act; and so the conduct of Moses in such trying circumstances, distinctly proves that every step of his procedure was regulated by a regard to the Supreme authority of Him whose servant he claimed to be, and obedience to whose laws he would inculcate in this and every other way upon his people.

¹ Einleitung, I. ii., § 131, p. 499. E. T., p. 318.

SECT. V. THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE PENTATEUCH.—DEUTERONOMY.

§ 1. *Its Name and Contents.*

The fifth, and concluding book of the Pentateuch, is named in Hebrew from its initial words, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים “These are the words;” but by the LXX. it is styled Δευτερονόμιον, “the second,” or rather, “the repeated law,” to which corresponds the Rabbinical name, מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה or more fully, מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה¹ “repetition,” or, “repetition of the law,” an expression which occurs in this book itself, (Deut. xvii. 18,) where it signifies, however, *a copy, or transcript of the law*. The Rabbinical and Greek names sufficiently characterise the contents of this book, which consists properly of a series of discourses of an historical as well as legislative character, addressed by Moses to the Israelites just before his death. He began these discourses on the first of the eleventh month, of the fortieth year of the wanderings in the wilderness, when the people found themselves on the confines of the promised land, and ready to begin its conquest, (Deut. i. 1-5).

The limits of the several discourses being but indistinctly marked, their number is variously reckoned by Biblical critics. The following divisions, however, are as probable as any. They are, for the most part, those of Jahn.²

I. FOUR PARTING ADDRESSES OF THE LAWGIVER TO THE ASSEMBLED ISRAELITES IN THE PLAINS OF MOAB, Chap. i.-xxx., viz:—

1. An address, wherein he recapitulates the history of the wanderings through the wilderness from Horeb to the Jordan, as an encouragement to obedience to the law, and a warning against apostasy, (i.-iv. 40); to this is added a notice of the three cities of refuge set apart by Moses on the east side of Jordan, and of Israel's possessions there, (iv. 41-49).

2. A second address respecting the earlier period of the wilderness sojourn,—particularly the promulgation of the Sinaitic law, with many earnest and paternal exhortations to obedience, (v.-viii).

3. In his third discourse, Moses introduces various modifications, and more specific directions respecting several previous ordinances and enactments, and some provisions altogether new, (ix.-xxvi.)

¹ Hottinger, Thesaurus, p. 459. ² Biblia Hebraica, Tom. i. Viennæ, 1806.

4. In the last address is shown the advantage as well as the duty of obedience, by presenting to the people the blessing and the curse, preparatory to their renewing the covenant with Jehovah, (xxvii.-xxx.)

II. THEN FOLLOWS A NOTICE OF THE COMMITTAL OF THE BOOK OF THE LAW TO THE KEEPING OF THE PRIESTS, WITH THE LAWGIVER'S CHARGE TO THEM, AND HIS SONG, (xxxi.-xxxii. 47); to which are added—

III. THREE APPENDICES, viz:—(1). An announcement to Moses of his approaching death, (xxxii. 48-52). (2). His parting blessing on the tribes of Israel, (xxxiii.); and (3). An account of his death, (xxxiv.)

Deuteronomy is thus seen to be a recapitulation both of the history and the laws of the three preceding books of the Pentateuch, conveyed in the form of paternal exhortations rather than with strict legislative authority, but yet urging a willing and unreserved obedience to all the precepts and commandments of Jehovah, and a faithful adherence to his covenant. The book may therefore be properly regarded as the Mosaic commentary upon the law, rather than the law itself, and as exhibiting the spirit more than the letter of the legislation. A circumstance which must have contributed greatly to the solemnity of the scene and the impressiveness of the exhortations, was the full consciousness of the speaker that his own death must precede the enterprise to which, in the first instance, he now sought to encourage his hearers, (Deut. iii. 27; iv. 22). He, in fact, contemplated his own departure as an event near at hand, (xxxi. 2.)—an anticipation which the close of the narrative shows to have been speedily realized.

The admonitions addressed by Moses to Israel on this occasion took generally a twofold direction. They consisted, first, of warnings against idolatry, (iv. 14-40; xvii. 2-7,) and next, of cautions against a spirit of self-righteousness, (ix. 4-24,)—dispositions to which, as their subsequent history but too plainly shows, the Israelites as a people were exceeding prone. This twofold object, giving so distinct a character, as here appears, to his parting exhortations, furnishes, indeed, it may be observed, a clear proof of how intimately the lawgiver was acquainted with the peculiar predisposition of his people as more expressly intimated in chap. xxxi. 26-29, and an indubitable indication of the prophetic spirit with which he spoke.

§ 2. *The relation of Deuteronomy to the preceding books.*¹

The connexion between Deuteronomy and the three middle books of the Pentateuch is very apparent, and yet the differences between them are numerous and varied. The contents, historical and legislative, of the earlier books, are recognised throughout Deuteronomy and, in fact, constitute its great theme, or the subject of its remarks. There are, however, in the latter, not only large and important variations and additions, but the subject is occasionally presented in an aspect very different from that in which it stands in the other books. These circumstances, it may be here remarked, without anticipating the full discussion of the subject in its proper place, give occasion to a certain class of critics to deny the identity of the authorship of Deuteronomy with that of the other portions of the Pentateuch, which they variously admit or dispute to be a Mosaic production, some holding that Deuteronomy alone is the work of Moses; others that it belongs to a much later age, and that its author was different from the authors or compilers of the remainder of the Pentateuch. The additions and variations found in Deuteronomy, so far, however, from constituting contradictions in respect of any statements of the earlier books, as the critics in question allege, admit of a satisfactory explanation from the special and distinct aim of the author, clearly discernible in the work itself, and from the altered circumstances of the Israelitish people at the time of its composition at the close of the wilderness life, and when they were about to enter upon new relations in their settled residence in Canaan. Indeed, the accordance in this respect of several of the legislative provisions of Deuteronomy, with the prospects at the time just opened up to the people, will be found to contribute not a little in proof of its genuineness and authenticity.

i. The relation of Deuteronomy to the earlier books in respect of variations and additions, historical and legislative, first demands attention. Variations, of which there are numerous instances, both as to the order and fulness of historical matters, can be readily accounted for from the hortatory style, and the

¹ See Keil, *Einleitung*, § § 28-31, pp. 108-122.

object of the speaker, and of the writer when recording his discourses. The circumstances were such as called only for a general reference to various transactions which might be the subject of remark, and the character and relations of which could be safely assumed as already well known to the parties addressed. This admitted, whenever the subject required it, of the classing together of incidents which were possessed of a common character, without much regard to their strict chronological order. Thus the rebellions of Israel against Jehovah at Taberah, Massah, and Kibroth-hattaavah, are mentioned in connexion with the idolatry at Sinai, (ix. 22, &c.); but this circumstance certainly gives no warrant for concluding, as is sometimes maintained, that the author considered those events as nearly contemporaneous, or as following in the order in which they are here enumerated. But, even in some instances of this kind, the departure from the chronological order is often more apparent than real. For example, it is objected that the order to remove the encampment precedes the appointment of the captains, (i. 6, 15). De Wette asserts, that verses 6-8 are placed too early, and it is also alleged by others, that this appointment of captains is by the writer of Deuteronomy confounded, (ver. 16,) with the institution of the seventy elders, (Numb. xi.) But the order for the removal of the camp and its fulfilment are clearly distinguished; and not less so are the appointments of the captains and the judges, both of which took place prior to the departure from Sinai, (Ex. xviii.) Sometimes indeed, variations of this kind serve to throw light on particulars only incidentally touched on in the more specific accounts of the preceding books. Thus the command, (Deut. ii. 19, 37,) not to distress the Ammonites but to pass by their borders, so far from contradicting the notice that "*the border of the children of Ammon was strong,*" (Numb. xxi. 24.) rather explains this reference. With respect to the mission of the spies, of which it is alleged a different account is given in Deuteronomy from that contained in the Book of Numbers, it may be observed, that so far from any real contradiction there is a marked harmony. The proposal for this undertaking, which proved such a source of temptation, manifesting indeed in its conception distrust in their Divine leader, originated with the people themselves, (Deut. i. 22,) but in Num.

xiii., the affair, as may at first seem strange, is attributed to Jehovah. There is, however, no contradiction between the two statements, but on the contrary, the one obviates a difficulty which, from the very nature of the proposal, is presented by the other. The proposition proceeded from the people: in their unbelief they brought upon themselves this temptation: but without Jehovah's consent, Moses would not have acceded to it. This consent was given, and moreover, Jehovah designated the persons who should be sent, (Num. xiii. 1, 2): but of this Deuteronomy, as it did not come directly within the purpose of the writer,¹ makes no mention.

Further, as regards the alleged contradiction in the circumstance, that throughout Deuteronomy, with the exception of chap. xxxiii. 2, where Sinai occurs, the place of the giving of the law is called Horeb, whereas in the three preceding books, Sinai is the usual designation, Horeb being used only in Ex. iii. 1; iv. 28; xvii. 6; xviii. 5; xxxiii. 6, it is to be observed, that Horeb was the general name of the mountain range of that district, as appears from Ex. xvii. 6, according to which Rephidim was situated in Horeb, while Sinai on the other hand was the name of the particular peak from which the law was given.² The latter name very appositely appears most prominent in connexion with the giving of the law, and while the Israelites continued in the neighbourhood of that scene, disappearing however in the general and well known name Horeb when they receded from the locality, and when, especially in the Book of Deuteronomy, the Sinaitic legislation is contrasted with that "in the land of Moab," (Deut. i. 5: xxix. 1.) This view, is further confirmed by the fact, that previous to the Israelites' arrival at Sinai, (Ex. xix. 1, 2,) Horeb only is used. Indeed, viewed in this light, this and the other peculiarities of this book, furnish very decided examples of those undesigned coincidences which so largely distinguish the sacred narratives, and afford some of the most indubitable tokens of their truthfulness.

The additions of an historical nature found in Deuteronomy,

¹ Hävernick, *Einleitung*, I., ii., § 131, p. 498, E. T., p. 316. ters from Egypt, pp. 317, 318. Lond. 1853,) who takes however a different

² Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. i. pp. 120-591. See also Lepsius, (*Let-* view of the matter.

consist partly in the greater prominence which the writer gives to matters, which in the other books were omitted, as well known, and partly in the appending of various particulars necessary for the special purpose of the writer, and all of which exhibit the most minute acquaintance with the Mosaic times and history.¹ Additions of the first kind are the command to break up from Horeb, (Deut. i. 6, 7, compared with Num. x. 11); the notice, "Ye abode in Kadesh many days," (i. 46); a notice of the repentance of Israel, (i. 45,) of which no mention is made in Num. xiv. Moses' intercession for Aaron, (ix. 20,) to which there is no reference in Exod. xxxii., xxxiii. Additions of the second kind, are the command not to distress the Moabites, or wage war with them, (ii. 9-18); nor to meddle with the Edomites, but, on the contrary, when passing through their territories to purchase bread and water, (ii. 4-8,) the archaio-logical notices of the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir, and notices of the territories at the Mosaic period possessed by the Moabites and Ammonites, (ii. 10-12, 20-23); notice of the sixty fortified cities in Bashan, (iii. 4, &c.); the different names of Hermon, (iii. 9); more specific details of the attack of the Amalekites, (xxv. 17-19,) than are contained in the narrative of that affair in Exod. xvii. 8.

The more important variations and additions belong, however, to the legislative sections of Deuteronomy. Some particulars of this character are entirely new—as the appointment of the three trans-Jordanic cities of refuge, (iv. 41-43,)—directions concerning which had been given in Num. xxxv. 14; while the command to set apart three cities on the other side is only repeated, (Deut. xix. 9). So also the law respecting the appointed place of public worship, whither all sacrifices, offerings, and tithes, were required to be brought, (xii. 5, &c.) with the repeal of the law which required that the slaughtering even of such animals as were destined merely for food, be only at the sanctuary, (Lev. xvii. 3, &c.); laws with respect to the tithes appropriate for sacrificial seasons, (Deut. xii. 11, 17; xxvi. 12; xiv. 22); to false prophets, enticers of the people to idolatry, and to such as might be so enticed, (xii.); on regal functions, (xvii. 14); the functions and authority of the pro-

¹ Keil, *Einleitung*, p. 111.

phetic order, (xviii. 15, &c.); on war and military service, (xx.); on the mode of expiating a murder, the perpetrator of which was unknown; on female captives of war; the right of a first-born son, where there was a double marriage; the punishment of disobedient and obstinate sons; and the hanging or exposure of the bodies of criminals after execution, (xxi.); on unchastity, and the rape of virgins, (xxii. 13, &c.); on divorce, (xxiv. 1, &c.); various minor laws, (xxii. 5, &c.; xxiii.; xxv.); the form of thanksgiving to be used on presenting the first-fruits and tithes, (xxvi.) But it is of importance to observe, that while in general the laws of the preceding books are only partially repeated and pressed anew, and in some cases restricted or repealed, there are others—as, for instance, that regarding Hebrew slaves, (Deut. xv. 12, &c., comp. with Ex. xxi. 2, &c.)—which are extended.

None of these variations and additions, whether historical or legislative, is of a description, however, to warrant the allegations of De Wette and others, to the effect that “the Mosaic history seems to be more remote from the author of this book than it would be from one who wrote down an historical narrative;” and that “the laws are new, not only in respect to the time in which they are alleged to have been given, but in respect to their more modern character.”¹ On the contrary, the particulars just referred to afford the clearest evidence not only of an intimate, but even personal acquaintance, on the part of the writer, with all the facts of the Mosaic history; and not only so, but of his possessing authority to make such additions to, and modifications in the Mosaic laws, as the altered circumstances of the community required.

ii. The relation of Deuteronomy to the earlier books, in respect to the character of its legislation, also requires notice. As the historical remarks and allusions in Deuteronomy presuppose, and indeed entirely rest upon, the transactions which preceded and followed the Exodus, and particularly those of the wilderness, recorded at length in the three preceding books, so also is it the case with respect to its institutions and enactments. The Israelites are here introduced as already in full possession of laws and ordinances of a civil and religious cha-

¹ De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 156, a. p. 191.

racter, admittedly committed to them by Moses under the Divine authority. That God, through Moses, had given them special commandments at Sinai in regard to the various matters of duty with which it concerned them individually, and as a community, to be acquainted, (Deut. i. 18,) is a fundamental idea throughout the discourses which chiefly constitute this book, and is clearly set forth in the blessing—probably his last public act—which Moses bestowed upon “the children of Israel before his death.” “Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob,” (Deut. xxxiii. 1, 4). The legislation of Deuteronomy is, therefore, in no sense new, or independent of, but rests on and fully acknowledges the Sinaitic legislation. Nor is it correct to regard it merely as supplementing that legislation, or presenting it in a more popular form, according to the view of Kurtz,¹ who maintains, that as the earlier books were specially designed for the priests, this was designed for the whole body of the people. Quite opposed to this view is the fact, that Deuteronomy omits entirely various matters, an intimate knowledge of which was indispensable to every Israelite.² But apart from this objection, the Mosaic system admitted of no such distinction in the classification of the sacred books; for, differing in this, as in other respects, from other ancient institutions, it gave no place to anything of an esoteric character, but required every individual of the community to be fully instructed in all the principles of the law, so as intelligently to conform to all its requirements.

Still there is a particular aspect in which the law is here presented, which gives it a form different from that in the other books. Here it is no longer God speaking to Moses, who, in turn, makes known the communications with which he was entrusted to Aaron and his sons, or to the people, as the nature of these communications might, in any particular instance, require, but Moses himself, in virtue of the special prophetic functions with which he was invested, (Num. xii. 6-8; Deut. xviii. 15), discoursing with Israel. This is no mark, as De Wette³ alleges, of a diversity of authorship,

¹ Geschichte des alten Bundes., vol. klärt, p. 3. Berlin, 1859.

ii. p. 539.

³ Einleitung, 156 b., p. 192.

² Schultz, Das Deuteronomium er-

though it undoubtedly indicates a decided advance in the scheme of revelation, and is the foundation of that prophetic order employed by God for making known His will. The *extraordinary*, so to speak, which is necessary at the commencement of a dispensation, has in this respect so far given way to the more ordinary, or, as it may be termed, orderly and usual. The same advance is also discernible in the insight here given into the character of the law itself.

Thus, as remarked by Hävernicks, "instead of the letter, with its legal obligation, adverse to all development, which finds in itself the grounds of its higher necessity, reflection upon the law here prevails, and even the letter is in this way brought home more to the heart."¹ To love God is in particular represented as the great end, or the fulfilment of the law (vi. 5, x. 12). This, as an element of obedience, recognised even in the Decalogue itself, where it is made the true ground of submission to the Divine commandment (Ex. xx. 6), assumes in Deuteronomy its right place. It is important also to notice the light which Deuteronomy throws even on the ceremonial law. For example, it gave the Israelite clearly to understand, in few and simple words, the spiritual import of circumcision, the initiatory rite of his religion, and the ground of his standing as a member of the theocracy (x. 16; xxx. 6, 7); while, of course, it would be seen that the ethical element thus brought to view must belong also to the other ceremonies as well as to this rite, which was referred to by way of example.

In other particulars, also, there is a marked prominence given to the spirit of the law, as contrasted with the mere letter, or an outward compliance with the command, showing that Israel's service must be in truth a living service, in order to be acceptable to the living God,—a circumstance which has given occasion to this book being quoted by the prophets more largely than any other portion of the Pentateuch. The prophetic discourses of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in particular, are formed very much upon the model of the addresses and exhortations of Moses to his people in the plains of Moab. So great, indeed, is the resemblance between Deuteronomy and the writings of Jeremiah, that it has furnished grounds for

¹ Einleitung, I. ii., p. 522. E. T., p. 339.

some of the impugnors of the genuineness of this book to ascribe its composition to that prophet.¹

But further, as shown under the preceding head, various laws contained in the earlier books are here partly repeated and enforced anew, partly modified, restricted, or enlarged, and even repealed altogether, with the view of suiting the system to the change in the circumstances of the Israelites, and the new aspect of affairs arising from the approaching settlement in their new homes, and the cessation of a migratory life, with its encampments. Compare, for instance, Deut. xv. 17 with Ex. xxi. 7; and Deut. xii. with Lev. xvii. These modifications, however, entirely accord with the spirit and object of the law, and offer no violence to any one principle of the Israelitish constitution; they serve rather to carry out and apply these principles. But while these modifications are, in the circumstances, a very strong proof of the credibility of the whole history of the Pentateuch, particularly of the fact of the wilderness sojourn,—a situation to which the earlier laws, which are here repealed, and also some others, could alone have been applicable, they are such as required no less authority than that of the lawgiver himself. Indeed, there is a strict prohibition in the book itself against adding to or taking away from the law (iv. 2; xii. 32). No subsequent writer of Scripture assumes the liberty of making such changes in the law as were effected by the author of Deuteronomy. Still, with all its additions and modifications, this is not a new legislation, or even a continuation of the preceding: it is the Sinaitic legislation enforced anew, and, wherever necessary, adapted to the circumstances which had emerged at the close of the forty years' wandering.

§ 3. *The Prophetic Announcements of Deuteronomy.*

The prophetic character of this book is distinctly marked. Moses was fully conscious of his own prophetic standing; he expressly designates himself a *prophet* (נָבִיא), and as the representative of the great Prophet, to be in due time raised up for the completion of his work (Deut. xviii. 15-19). Indeed,

¹ Von Bohlen, Genesis, p. clxvii.

the prophetic endowments of the author of this book are apparent throughout his discourses, which contain more direct references to the future of his people than any other portion of the Pentateuch. The intimations regarding Israel's future, with which the book of Leviticus closed, are here more largely developed: compare Deut. xxviii. with Lev. xxvi. In both these passages expression is given to the twofold aspect of that future which presented itself to the eye of the seer, and the precise character of which, as the Israelites had been distinctly warned, was dependent on their relation to the law. The description of the curse, the consequence of disobedience, is much more copious in Deut. xxviii. 15-69 than in the closing address on the Sinaitic legislation,—a circumstance probably owing to the discoveries made in the interval of the people's proneness to apostasy. However this may be, it is evident to the seer that all his threatenings and admonitions shall prove ineffectual for securing obedience, and that the result will be a dispersion of his people among the nations of the earth (ver. 36, 37); and at a subsequent period, after a restoration from dispersion and exile, their subjection to a close siege within their gates by a nation brought "from far, from the end of the earth" (ver. 49-57); followed again by their being "plucked from off the land" given them for a possession, and their dispersion anew (ver. 63, 64). Yet, in the midst of all these threatened calamities, the continued existence of Israel is not only assumed, but is thus prophetically secured; and in this preservation of the people is involved the possibility of the removal of the curse itself by a new constitution formally opposed to the character of the law, yet in some way satisfying its claims; for the curses of the law on the disobedient cannot cease of themselves, but remain "for ever" (ver. 46), until removed by some countervailing power. The concluding intimation of this solemn warning: "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again" (ver. 68), is of similar import with the sentence passed upon man after the fall, condemning him to return to the dust out of which he was taken (Gen. iii. 19). This return to Egypt was an intimation of the cessation and destruction of the development and the history of Israel as a nation, which commenced with

their redemption from Egypt (see Deut. xvii. 16),¹ and has, may be observed, no reference whatever to any literal return to that land. It is, however, one of the undesigned testimonies to the historical fact of the Exodus, which occur in various parts of Scripture.

These predictions by the lawgiver of the future of his nation so remarkably verified, as all must admit, in their history, are continued in chaps. xxx. and xxxii., accompanied with the assurance that when in their state of dispersion, they return to the Lord, He also "will return to his captivity," as שׁוֹבֵי שְׁבוּת is rendered by Hengstenberg.² There will be thus a mutual return, such as is more fully expressed by the later prophets, Zech. i. 3; Mal. iii. 7. Jehovah will gather them, (Deut. xxx. 1-3,) perfecting their salvation by changing their disposition, (ver. 6, 16). There is here plainly declared what was hitherto only a matter of inference from the fact of the purposed preservation of the covenant people. The prophet further discerns in the blessings awaiting Israel, the accomplishment of a purpose shadowed forth of old in the partition of the countries of the earth among the sons of Adam, (Deut. xxxii. 8). The dispersion of mankind as recorded in Gen. x., however dependent it may have been on natural instincts, or similar causes, was an arrangement, it is here declared, which had a special reference to the Israelitish people, and shewed the internal relation which they occupied to the nations of the earth, and to all history.

Again, the conclusion of Moses' prophetic song may be regarded as a summary of the whole law, and of prophecy: "Rejoice, O ye nations with his people; for he (Jehovah), will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful to (וְכַפֵּר will expiate, cover the uncleanness and guilt of) his land and his people," (xxxii. 43). This, which may be regarded as the dying testimony of the lawgiver, is adduced by St. Paul, (Rom. xv. 10,) as a proof of the participation of the Gentiles in the blessings of the covenant people, and an interest in all that affects their prosperity. This testimony, while entirely corresponding with

¹ Baumgarten, Theologischer Commentar, vol. ii., p. 523.

² Authentie, vol. i. pp. 104-106. Schultz, Das Deuteronomium, p. 634

the promises made to the patriarchs, and the subsequent intimations respecting the purposes of the Theocracy, (Exod. xix. 6,) and so furnishing another proof of that unity of spirit which characterises the Pentateuch, is the more important as it concludes the Mosaic legislation, and clearly evinces that in the estimate of the lawgiver himself, it had not that exclusive character which a mere external acquaintance with it is sometimes ready to assume.

The future of Israel, and their mediatorial character, are still further portrayed in the blessing of Moses, "the man of God," (Deut. xxxiii). After observing that the God of Israel who gave the Sinaitic law was the God of *all* people, (עַמִּים)¹ as seen in his love towards them, (ver. 3); he prays for a blessing on the tribes respectively—a blessing consisting not of earthly goods, but in the realization of their calling as the people of God. It is also shown in this prophetic discourse, that the place to be assigned to the several tribes in Canaan, was not fortuitous, but in accordance with the purposes they were designed to subserve in the Divine economy, (ver. 18, 19, 23). And finally, it is declared that it is only when as the people of God they become really so, that they shall completely vanquish their enemies, (ver. 29).

But while Deuteronomy thus distinctly points to the future, it supplies proofs of the fulfilment of the earlier prophecies of the preceding books. In the notice, for instance, of "the terebinths of Moreh," (xi. 30), to which Moses points as the termination of Israel's journeyings, there is a tacit reference to Gen. xii. 6, from a comparison with which it appears that they will be at length conducted to the very place where Abraham first set himself down in Canaan; thus intimating that the time of exile foretold to the patriarch, as appointed for his posterity, (Gen. xv. 13-16,) was now exhausted.

§ 4. *The Chronology of Deuteronomy.*

The period comprised in Deuteronomy, though not stated in the book itself, can be approximately determined from

¹ Baumgarten, Theol. Com., vol. ii., Mose's erklärt, p. 12. Leip. 1857,) still p. 556. So also Schultz, Das Deuteronomium, p. 689, but Graf (Der Segen refers it to the Israelitish tribes.

several notices in the book of Joshua. According to Deut. i. 3, 4, Moses commenced his discourses on the *first* day of the *eleventh month* of the *fortieth* year of the wanderings; while according to Josh. v. 10, the Israelites under Joshua encamped in Gilgal, and kept the Passover on the *fourteenth* of the *first* month of the following year; having four days previously, or on the *tenth*, crossed the Jordan, (iv. 19). Previous to this, three days had been occupied in preparations and in waiting for the return of the spies, (i. 11; ii. 22,)—a circumstance which brings the encampment at Shittim (ii. 1,) to the *seventh* day of the same month. Now, as the Israelites mourned for Moses *thirty* day in the plains of Moab, (Deut. xxxiv. 8,) this would assign his death to the *seventh* day of the twelfth month.¹

¹ Carpzov, Introductio, vol. i. p. 141.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCIPAL EXEGETICAL LITERATURE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Obs.—In the following list of the more important commentaries, ancient and modern, on the Pentateuch and its separate parts, the works are arranged nearly in chronological order. With few exceptions, works which embrace the whole of the Scriptures, or even the Old Testament, are not included.¹

1. *Works on the whole or the greater part of the Pentateuch.*

Ephraem Syrus, (died *c.* A.D. 379,) *Explanatio in Pentateuchum. Opera*, iv. 1-290. Fol. Romæ, 1732.

Augustin, (died 430,) *Quæstionum in Heptateuchum, libri vii. Op.* iii. 496. *Locutionum, libri vii. Ibid.* p. 427. Bassani, 1797.

Cyrillus Alexandrinus, (died 444,) *Glaphyra, sive scita et elegantia commentaria in libros Mosis. Op.* i. 1-433. Fol. Lut. 1638. *Separately*, Græce et Latine cura A. Schotti. Fol. Antv. 1618.

Theodoret, (died 457,) *Quæstiones in Pentateuchum. Op.* i. pars. i. 8vo. Halæ, 1769.

Procopius Gazæus, (fl. 520,) *Commentarii in Octateuchum. Lat. vers.* Fol. Basil. 1555.

Isidorus Hispalensis, (died 636,) *Commentaria in Pentateuchum. Op.* p. 283. Fol. Col. Agr. 1617.

Rabanus Maurus, (died 856,) *Commentarii in Pentateuchum. 8vo. Col.* 1532. *Op.* i. Fol. Col. 1627.

Bruno Astensis, (died 1123,) *Expositio, seu commentarius in Pentateuchum. Op.* i. Fol. Venet. 1651.

¹ In the compilation of this list, great aid has been derived from Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, 2 vols. Lond. 1854, 1859.

- Rupertus Tiutiensis, (died 1135,) *Commentariorum de operibus S. Trinitatis, libri xlii.* *Op. i.* 1-321. Fol. Paris, 1638.
- Hugo a Sancto Victore, (fl. 1120,) *Annotationes elucidatoriæ in Genesim, Exodum et Leviticum: annotatiunculæ in Numeros et in Deuteronomium.* *Op. i.* 8-26. Fol. s. l. 1526.
- Wicbodus, *Quæstiones in Octateuchum.* Martene et Durand, *Collectio ix.* 294. Par. 1724.
- Jarchi, R. Solomon, (born 1040,) *Commentarius Hebraicus, Latine versus, notis illustratus, etc., á J. F. Breithaupt.* 5 vols. 4to. Gothæ, 1710. [The first two volumes contain the Pentateuch.] *Idem lib. cum textu Hebræo et paraphrasi Chaldaica.* 8vo. Königsb. 1852.
- Aben Ezra, R. Abraham ben Meir, (fl. 1149,) Perusch, sive *Commentarius in Pentateuchum, Hebraice* colleg. R. Jekushiel Lase ben Nachum, et R. Naphtali Hertz ben Sueskind. Fol. Amst. 1722.
- Abarbanel, R. Isaac, (fl. 1490,) *Commentarii in Pentateuchum, Hebraice* cura Arkwolti. Fol. Venetiis, Bragadini, 1599. *Idem, studio H. Jac. van Bashuysen.* Fol. Hanoviæ, 1710.
- Ben Elihu, Aharon, *Libri Coronæ Legis, id est Commentarii in Pentateuchum, Karaitice Latine vers. et illust. a Rosegarten.* 4to. Jenæ, 1824.
- Steuchus Eugubinus, *Veteris Testamenti ad Hebraicam veritatem recognitio, sive in Pentateuchum annotationes.* 4to. Venet. 1529. 8vo. Lugd. 1531.
- Dionysius à Rickel, (died 1471,) Carthusianus, *Enarrationes piæ et eruditæ in v libros Mosaicæ Legis.* Fol. Colon. 1548, 1566.
- Fagius, (died 1550,) *In paraphrasin Chaldaicam Pentateuchi succinctæ annotationes.* *Critici Sacri.*
- Pellicanus, Con. (died 1556,) *Commentarii in Pentateuchum.* *Op. i.* Fol. Turici, 1533.
- Calvin, (died 1564,) *Commentarii in quinque libros Mosis, Genesis seorsum; reliqui quatuor in formam harmoniæ digesti.* *Op. i.* Fol. Gen. 1617. [Eng. Trans. 6 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1852.]
- Brentius, (died 1570,) *Commentarii in libros Pentateuchi.* Fol. Tübing. 1576.

- Oleaster, *Commentaria in Pentateuchum juxta ed. Pagnini in quibus primum Heb. veritatem exactissime explicuit.* Fol. Antv. 1569. Lugd. 1586.
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BOOK SECOND.

THE GENUINENESS, AUTHENTICITY AND AUTHORITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE LITERARY UNITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

SECT. I. GENERAL REVIEW, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL, OF THE DOCUMENT-HYPOTHESIS.

Keil, *Einleitung*, § 23, pp. 71-74. Hävernicks, *Einleitung*, verbessert von Keil. I. ii., § 111, pp. 58-65. Frankfurt a. M. 1856.

A READER of the Pentateuch, ignorant of the various theories entertained by critics on the relation as well of its component parts as of its minor divisions, would at once and naturally conclude, that it constitutes a continuous narrative, commencing with the creation of the earth and of mankind, and continued, with special reference to the origin of the Israelitish nation and their peculiar polity, down to the death of their great lawgiver, immediately before their entrance into the territories recognised throughout the history as the end of their wanderings. Several considerations connected with its genealogies and chronology, besides the definite ideas which lie at the foundation of the whole work, clearly evince that the Pentateuch, whoever may have been its author, and whatever the nature and source of the materials employed, has

been constructed after a predetermined plan; and further, that notwithstanding various historical breaks, easily explicable from the writer's point of view, the narrative is strictly coherent in all its parts. Indeed, such breaks, when duly considered, only shew how closely the writer adhered to his purpose, by excluding all that was foreign to, or but remotely connected with his subject. So strong, indeed, is the evidence that the work was composed on a distinct plan, that the fact is now acknowledged as much by some of those who hold that it was composed of different documents, as by those who refuse to entertain that theory.

Such, however, was not the view always taken, nor is it still universally recognised by those critics who, applying to this most venerable production certain rules and criteria of their own, have pronounced it to be an assemblage of heterogeneous fragments, the works of various authors and ages; yet without at all agreeing as to the nature of those fragments, or the manner of their combination into the form which they now present. Some suppose that the Pentateuch is the production of two, or at the most three writers; while others, with equal confidence, quadruple the larger of these numbers; some, again, hold that the various documents or fragments have been connected by the merest accident, or the caprice of the collector, while others, and only more recently, discern in the compilation evidences of a most skilful literary operation. It is, in these circumstances, the more necessary to examine this theory from its origin, and trace it thence through the various modifications it has assumed.

The diversities of opinion just referred to, are but a small part of the extravagances, not to say contradictions, resulting from what has assumed among certain German Biblical writers the designation of the "Higher Criticism," based on what is variously styled the "Document," or "Fragment-hypothesis." This hypothesis, as applied to the Pentateuch, is so named from the assumption that this portion of Scripture, though usually ascribed to Moses, is in fact a collection or combination of various original, more or less independent documents or memoirs, the literary character and the relative ages of which it is the object of this scheme critically to determine. At first this theory was limited to the book of Genesis; and while so

limited by Vitranga,¹ who was among the first to raise the question as to the nature of the sources of Moses' information on matters which long preceded his own time, and subsequently by Astruc,² who, giving the subject a fuller consideration, sought to define the number and character of the memoirs to which, hitherto, only a general reference had been made, it excited but little interest, for such a use of earlier documents was perfectly reconcileable with a belief in the Mosaic authorship and inspired authority, as well of Genesis as of the rest of the Pentateuch, with the transactions of which Moses was otherwise acquainted. Even as propounded by Eichhorn, the theory was of a somewhat harmless character, notwithstanding some expressions of doubt on his part that the writer who compiled Genesis from the two original documents employed in its composition, might have been another than Moses;³ for this conclusion did not necessarily follow from the theory itself, which was only that of Astruc simplified and elaborated, but still confined to Genesis and the pre-Mosaic period. Such a supposition, however, no doubt contained latent principles of evil, which in other hands were speedily developed.

Eichhorn, while fully admitting that nothing was more difficult than the attempt to effect the separation of documents which had been so interwoven, as those which entered into the composition of Genesis, and that such an operation required the utmost discrimination and tact,⁴ courageously set himself to the task of marking off the various portions, larger and smaller, sometimes extending only to single verses, which belonged respectively to the two original writers; and further, to distinguish the interpolations of the compiler, for to that were now reduced the *ten* supplementary memoirs of Astruc. And not only so, but Eichhorn undertook, in addition, the correction of the clerical and other errors of the original auto-

¹ Observationes Sacrae, Lib. I. cap. iv. § 2. Schedas et scrinia patrum, apud Israelitas conservata, Mosen opinamur collegisse, digessisse, ornasse, et, ubi deficiebant, complesse, atque ex iis primum librorum suorum confecisse.—p. 36, ed. Jenæ, 1723.

² The full title of many of the works to which there is here merely a reference will be found above, in B. I., chap. i., sect. 2.

³ Einleitung, § 413, vol. iii. p. 94.

⁴ Ibid. § 415, vol. iii. p. 103.

graph which were due to the inadvertence of the compiler, as well as those mistakes of his transcribers discoverable from the versions and other critical helps. That part of Eichhorn's undertaking which specially concerned the emendation of the original text, and which, but for the fact that it was the Sacred Scriptures that were subjected to such treatment, might be viewed, on account of its very presumption, as a matter of critical pleasantry, was indeed carried to a far greater length by some of his followers, as by thus bringing the text into conformity with the theory, there was in every case of emergency a simple mode of escape from all perplexities.

The separation of the documents was effected chiefly by means of the recurrence of the terms "Elohim" and "Jehovah," designations of God which were assumed to be characteristic of two distinct writers, whose productions have accordingly, on that account, been styled in critical phraseology, since the time of Astruc, "the Elohim" and "Jehovah-documents" respectively. Subsidiary helps were also, no doubt, resorted to, and latterly to a greater extent than when the theory was first propounded, but the interchange of the Divine names throughout the Pentateuch has ever continued its governing principle; and it is only in the absence of this criterion that much weight is attached to other distinctions of style and expression supposed to be peculiar to the respective writers. In some passages there was found a concurrence of such characteristics, along with the Divine name appropriate to them. In other passages, however, the contrary is not unfrequently the case; but this, it may be remarked, occasions no difficulty to the critics; for in such circumstances, it is assumed, there must have been some interpolation from the other document, or the anomaly is referred to an oversight of the compiler, or some other equally facile solution of the problem presents itself.

Various examples, bearing out this statement, will be given in the course of these observations, sufficient, it is presumed, to substantiate the arbitrary character of this criticism, and the utterly untenable grounds on which it rests; but, in the meantime, it may be mentioned that the scheme of Eichhorn was speedily subjected to various modifications, some of which

altered its character completely. Ilgen¹ was the first who ventured to improve it, by entirely rejecting the extensive interpolations which Eichhorn had assigned to the compiler, and assuming the existence of three original documents instead of two. There were, according to this critic, three documents which entered into the composition of Genesis—two Elohistie documents, and one Jehovistic—with this peculiarity, that between this last and the second or later Elohist, there was a very close resemblance in language and other characteristics. Ilgen proceeded very minutely to work out his dismembering process, in some instances distributing nearly every alternate verse, and in several cases even clauses of the same verse, among the several writers. A very insignificant portion, however, of the whole accrued on this scheme to the Jehovist; not a single passage before Gen. xii., or after xxviii. 30, bearing any indications of being his composition. This latter very important alteration of the arrangements of Astruc and Eichhorn, was effected by conjecturally changing the Divine name wherever it did not suit the hypothesis. The entire result, however, now was, that passages which, on leaving the hands of Eichhorn, had still retained a certain length and consistency, were by Ilgen's criticism reduced to a perfect mosaic.²

Other modifications of the document-hypothesis of Eichhorn followed that of Ilgen, differing widely from the original, and from one another, but all distinguished for the license which they assumed in reducing the sacred record into a most heterogeneous compound, and by a process which would not be tolerated if applied to any other productions, ancient or modern. As these various theories, however, have nearly all passed away, it is needless to refer to them any further. One, however—that of Gramberg,³ as being comparatively recent, and as shewing the regular development of the documentary scheme—merits a brief notice in this historical sketch.

According to Gramberg, Genesis was compiled from the

¹ Urkunden des Jerusalemschen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt. Halle, 1798.

² "Allzugenaue Zergliederung," — "a too minute dismemberment."

³ Libri Geneseos secundum fontes rite dignoscendos adumbratio nova. Lips. 1828.

two commonly assumed original documents, more or less arbitrarily combined, and largely supplemented by the compiler; so that it is the production of *three* writers, as previously assumed by Ilgen, and also in a modified form by Eichhorn himself. But with this exception, the points of resemblance between this theory and its elder representatives are very few. This will be at once apparent from one or two examples. Thus, the earliest part of the composition assigned by Gramberg to the compiler, is Gen. x. 1-32—a passage which Astruc and Eichhorn had attributed to the Jehovist; and Ilgen, on the other hand, to the first Elohist. So also with regard to the next passage—Gen. xix. 29—which proceeded, according to Gramberg, from the compiler, but by Eichhorn was conjoined with an Elohist section, while by Ilgen the verse is equally divided between the first and second Elohist. Chap. xxiv., again, which Astruc, Eichhorn, and Ilgen, agree in claiming for the Jehovist, Gramberg considers as an addition by the compiler. It is much the same in almost every other instance, the results differing greatly from those of the preceding schemes.

But as the character of the criticism can be better appreciated from a tabular comparison of some of the more important results, than from any lengthened disquisition on the subject, the following synopsis will exhibit all the passages of Genesis, regarding the authorship and extent of which the four critics, Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen, and Gramberg, are (1.) unanimous, (2.) or any three of them are agreed; and (3.) a list of passages where no two of them are agreed in every particular; taking under the last head the divisions of Astruc, with the omission of those of his supplementary memoirs, as the standard, although the results would not vary much on the assumption of any other, while the omission indicated greatly favours the hypothesis by reducing the number of variable terms. It is to be observed that the letters E. and J. are used to denote the Elohist and Jehovist respectively.

(1.) Gen. vi. 9-22, E.; xviii.-xix. 28, J.; xxiii., E.

(2.) v. 1-32, E.; but Eichhorn holds ver. 29 to be an interpolation from J.; viii. 20-22, J.; but assigned by Ilgen to 2d E.; ix. 1-17, E., but which Astruc limits to ver. 1-10; ix. 28, 29, E., but assigned by Gramberg to J.; xi. 10-32, E., which Astruc limits to ver. 10-26; xvii. E., which Astruc limits to ver. 3-17; xx. 1-17, E., which Ilgen extends to ver.

- 1-18; xxi. 2-32, E., which Ilgen distributes among the three documents; xxiv., J., which Gramberg assigns to the compiler; xxxviii. 10-22, J., but which Ilgen partly assigns to 2d E.
- (3.) vii. 1-5, J.; vii. 6-10, E.; vii. 11-19, J.; vii. 21, J.; xv.-xvii. 2, J.; xxv. 19-34, J.; xxviii. 1-5, J.; xxx. 1-23, E.; which Ilgen divides into 33 fragments among the 3 documents; while Gramberg simply adds another ver. to this sect.; xxxi. 4-47, E.; xxxi. 48-50, J.; xxxi. 51-54, E.; xxxii. 4-24, J.; xxxiii. 1-16, E.; xxxiii. 17-20, J.; xxxv. 1-27, E.; xl.-xlviii., E., which Eichhorn reduces to xl.-xlvii. 27, Gramberg to xl.-xlii., but assigns it to J., while Ilgen divides it into 129 fragments among the two Elohistes.¹

But the arbitrary character of this criticism will, if possible, be even more apparent from the following additional facts:—

1. The number of sections into which Genesis is divided by Astruc is 81; by Eichhorn, 89; by Ilgen, 386; and by Gramberg, 59.
2. The number of Eichhorn's sections, wherein neither of the Divine names occurs, is 27; and of which, upon some other conjectural ground, he assigns 16 to the Elohim document.
3. Eichhorn's textual emendations are, (1.) Proposed change of Elohim for Jehovah, in Gen. iv. 25; ix. 27; xxii. 12; xxvii. 28. (2.) Conversely, of Jehovah for Elohim, xvii. 1; xxxii. 10. (3.) A proposal to supply Jehovah in xxvi. 24. (4.) A proposal to transfer *the last three words* of vii. 16 to ver. 9.

While the authors above-mentioned were thus labouring to perfect the hypothesis of Eichhorn, but were in reality only showing its utterly untenable character, others were avowedly setting about its destruction, but with the view of substituting in its stead something equally crude of their own, fitted, as they believed, to tell more powerfully against the genuineness of the Mosaic writings. Among these was Vater, who warmly inveighed against the presumption, which undertook, not only to show in general that books of such antiquity were composed of separate documents, but also to determine the number of those documents, and even to assign to them respectively every single word of Genesis. He objected in particular to the importance attached to the Divine names as characteristic of respective documents, maintaining that there was no evidence that the fragments in which these names were respectively found proceeded from one author, or had ever consti-

¹ See table of all the sections of Genesis, in Schumann, Genesis, pp. lvi.-lxv. Lips. 1829.

tuted part of a continuous work.¹ In support of this view, Vater adduced Ilgen's assumption, of two Elohim documents instead of the one originally proposed, and called attention to the weakness of the grounds on which Eichhorn had determined the authorship of various passages. His own conclusion was, that the books of the Pentateuch throughout consist of separate parts, of larger or smaller sections, and even very minute fragments, between which it does not appear that there was originally any connection.² The hand of a collector, he admits, is evident; the final form of the whole is not the result of accident, although it may have been so with some of the earlier collections, particularly those which contained the laws, and the matters which form the first section of the book of Numbers. The collocation, however, of the whole is, according to this writer, very loose, and entirely of an external character, the isolated pieces being for the most part strung together by mere grammatical forms, or particles of transition.³

Such was the "Fragment-hypothesis" of Vater. This, although a bolder and more advanced form than any which the subject hitherto presented, was based on essentially the same grounds as the hypothesis which it sought to supersede: indeed the one was only a natural development of the other, for the arguments are the same, only Vater gave them a new turn, and adopted the conclusions already arrived at, so far as suited his scheme. In particular, he would have it that the only question requiring consideration was the more or less fragmentary character of the originals, the existence of which had been already substantiated. In proof of the fragmentary character of the whole Pentateuch, Vater referred especially to the superscriptions already noticed by Vitranga in Genesis, but which were now traced to the remaining books, as in Ex. vi. 15; Num. xxxiii. 1; Deut. iv. 45; and the subscriptions in Lev. vii. 37, 38; xxvi. 47.

The reception which this scheme of Vater experienced was, however, not very flattering, although it has found a recent adherent in Hartmann.⁴ So untenable did its principles ap-

¹ Abhandlung üb. Moses u. die Verfasser d. Pentateuchs, § 91, Commentar, vol. iii., pp. 713-720.

² Ibid., p. 393.

³ Ibid., § 43, pp. 505-513.

⁴ Historisch-kritische Forschungen üb. die Bildung, Zeitalter u. Plan der 5 Bücher Mosis. Rostock, 1837.

pear to critics, even of advanced views on this subject, that soon after its first appearance, De Wette attempted to form a compromise between it and the other scheme. And here, it may be remarked, that the literary career of De Wette himself, with respect to this and other questions connected with the Hebrew Scriptures, furnishes, in his repeated change of views, a striking evidence of the unstable foundation on which the critics of the "Document-hypothesis," and other impugnors of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, or other portions of the Old Testament, rested their theories.

De Wette set out with the principle that the Pentateuch was a grand theocratic epos of the Israelitish nation, the late production of a free fancy which referred its ideal models of virtue and heroism to a mythic antiquity, in order from a supposed former national prosperity and renown to derive encouragement in times of trouble and oppression. He admitted that there is a partial connexion and original plan in the composition; but, at the same time, allowed to some extent the fragmentary character assigned to it by Vater. Of the former description are the Elohist portions, the extent of which, however, De Wette did not venture to determine so minutely as had been done by preceding critics; but the Jehovistic he held did not easily admit of being brought into unity, as they were derived in all probability from several sources.¹ But while these views, in their various and successive modifications, were being ably opposed, among others by Ranke, Hengstenberg, and Hävernick, in works which embraced the consideration of the whole Pentateuch, its plan and structure, and by Ewald and Drechsler so far as concerned Genesis, (although Ewald shortly after abandoned the ground which he then occupied, and adopted very much the original view of De Wette, but only to make subsequently another still greater transition), De Wette himself was changing his views with almost every successive edition of his 'Introduction.' In the 5th edition, which appeared in 1840, he still adhered in a modified degree to his original views. "The theory of Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen, and Gramberg," he remarks, "which supposes there were two or more documents extend-

¹ De Wette, *Kritik der Mosaischen Geschichte*. Halle, 1807.

ing throughout the whole book of Genesis, falls to pieces of itself. But the other theory, which assumes that there were only several fragments of various authors, must be limited to a small extent by the fact that the Elohistie fragments form a whole, which can be restored in a form almost perfect, while the Jehovistic passages cannot be thus united together."¹ And in the Preface he observes: "I have often found myself constrained to alter my opinion. I have been aided by the investigations of Stähelin in tracing the Elohim document throughout the Pentateuch. The conviction at which I have arrived, that the Jehovistic portions, *with a few exceptions*, never had an independent existence, has induced me, with Bleek, Tuch, and others, to place the date of the Pentateuch earlier than I had done before. It seems to me now that the critical investigation of the Pentateuch is brought much nearer its proper conclusion." But in the next edition (1844) of the same work—the last which appeared in the author's life-time, all traces of these hypotheses disappear in the declaration that the Jehovistic portions never existed separately, but are the elaborations and additions of the writer who gave their present form to the first four books of the Pentateuch, which, however, concluded with the Elohistie portions of Deuteronomy—a work which, in its present shape, he concludes is a much later production than the other books, and by a different author.

The view to which De Wette thus finally arrived, had, so far as regarded Genesis, been partially set forth by Stähelin, in an earlier work² than that to which De Wette refers, by Ewald and Von Bohlen, but more particularly by Tuch, from whom it received the designation of the "Complement-hypothesis." It was afterwards, by Stähelin, extended to the rest of the Pentateuch. The very extravagance of preceding theories, including, in addition to those already named, those of Bertholdt and others, based on the vaguest conjectures, so confidently propounded, and yet so flagrantly opposed to one another, and to the first principles of sound criticism, naturally led to a reaction in the ranks of rationalism itself, at first, indeed, not very considerable, but still containing promise that subsequent investiga-

¹ Einleitung, § 150. Parker's Trans. vol. ii. p. 77. Boston, 1843.

² Kritische Untersuchungen üb. die Genesis. Basel, 1830.

³ Einleitung, § 157 a, p. 194.

tions would be conducted with some greater regard to the laws of evidence at least, if not in a spirit more befitting the subject of injury. To this reaction must in a measure be ascribed the "Complement-hypothesis," which, though in itself exceedingly objectionable, is yet a most formidable opponent to the "Document-hypothesis," both in its earlier and later forms.

Tuch, fully admitting that Genesis always formed an integral part of the Pentateuch, and that it was composed on so definite a plan as to preclude everything of an accidental combination of parts,¹ holds that the original or Elohim portion, the ground-work which of itself formed a complete historical composition, extending from the creation to the death of Moses, and the conquest of Canaan,² has been carefully gone over, enlarged and elaborated by a later writer, the Jehovist, who supplied deficiencies, and furnished more ample details with respect to various particulars, on which the original writer was meagre, or broke off abruptly, yet in all such additions and enlargements never losing sight of the fundamental plan.³ But although there was thus a continuous and well arranged narrative, which gives a certain unity to the composition, the productions of the respective writers, it is maintained, are easily distinguishable by various peculiarities of style and expression, and by the whole train of thought.

This unqualified recognition of a definite plan and internal connexion in the Pentateuch, to which reference was made at the beginning of this section, and which distinguished the "Complement-hypothesis" from all preceding theories, removed many of the objections to which the others were obviously exposed, and which were found to be so unanswerable as to necessitate a constant change in the position of the upholders of these theories. This consideration procured for the new scheme so much favour that soon the others were almost universally discarded. Even some of the more orthodox writers of Germany, as recently Delitzsch and Kurtz, have given to it a qualified assent. But there are other objections to which, on the contrary, this theory only gives additional force, and for the removal of which recourse is frequently had to such unscientific and arbitrary expedients as those resorted to by

¹ *Kommentar üb. die Genesis*, pp. xx. xxix.

² *Ibid.* p. ii.

³ *Ibid.* p. lxxv.

Eichhorn and other early writers, and of which examples were given in the course of the preceding remarks. The further consideration of this theory must, however, be reserved until a passing notice be taken of one or two more recent schemes.

As if specially intended to shew how exceedingly fanciful and destitute of any solid basis are the speculations raised regarding this much controverted subject, Ewald, who, as already remarked, at an early period of his literary career, manifested strong opposition to the dismembering processes to which the Book of Genesis was subjected, but afterwards abandoned the chief positions which he had taken up in refuting the "Fragment-hypothesis," has more recently broached an entirely new theory, which, from its strange composition, Delitzsch is disposed to designate very appositely indeed, the "Crystallization-hypothesis." According to this newest scheme, which is still peculiar to its author, the Pentateuch consists of fragments of several larger works, and has been repeatedly gone over by a succession of writers by whom it has been variously moulded until brought into its present form by the author of Deuteronomy. Of the original works which enter into this composition, the first is what Ewald calls the "Book of the Covenant," a record of ancient customs and covenants, written, as he alleges, in the time of Samson; and fragments of which are found scattered throughout the historical books from Genesis to Judges. The second is the "Book of Origins," a work of a religious, historical, and legislative character, composed by a Levite in the beginning of Solomon's reign. To this belong the Elohim documents in great part, particularly the legislative portions, Ex. xxv.-xxxi., xxxv.-xl., almost the whole of Leviticus; of Numbers i.-x, xv., xix., xxviii.-xxx., and of historical portions, Gen. i., xxii.; Ex. vi. 2, &c. A third writer of primeval history having a prophetic turn, and who must have been a subject of the kingdom of Israel in the time of Elijah or Joel, is the author of Gen. xx., xxviii. 10-22, xxix.-xxxi., &c.; a fourth writer also of prophetic tendency, who flourished 800-750, B.C., added Gen. ii. 4-iv., vi. 1-4, &c., while a fifth, the author of Deuteronomy, who lived in the second half of the reign of Manasseh, wrought up the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua into their present form, with the exception of Deut. xxxiii., which is an interpolation of the

time of the reformation under Josiah.¹ So exceedingly whimsical is this scheme, and so utterly destitute of even the semblance of proof, for the author with all the dignity of criticism disdains arguments, and advances only bare assertions, that it is not strange that it has found no favour even among his paradox-loving countrymen. The consequence is, that wherever the more moderate views of Tuch do not give satisfaction, the only alternative is the resuscitation of some of the older theories, with such modifications as will make them somehow consort with the present stage of the controversy.

To this is no doubt owing the revival by Hupfeld, in a modified form, of the long forgotten views of Ilgen, already noticed. Hupfeld is of opinion, that modern criticism has for a long time been pursuing a retrograde course,² especially since Tuch and others so fully recognised the unity of Genesis and the other Books of the Pentateuch, which, as it was once viewed by De Wette, he regards as "the national epos of the Hebrews." Hupfeld holds that three distinct, and more or less independent, documents can be traced in the composition of Genesis,—an earlier and later Elohistie composition, and also a Jehovistic document. Between the last two writers there is a considerable similarity,³ while both differ very greatly from the original author. And accordingly, Hupfeld's object to restore the original memoir requires, he maintains, the exclusion of portions erroneously supposed to form a part of it, as well as the recovery of portions of it from the other documents to which they have hitherto been universally assigned by the critics. The Jehovistic portion he conceives to have been entirely independent,—a record of matters considered from another point of view, and derived for the most part from different traditions, but composed with no reference to the earlier documents.⁴ The combination of the three documents into the present Book of Genesis, is the work of a later editor, but of what age Hupfeld does not determine. Other and minor results it is unnecessary to particularize, further than by remarking, that while differing from all preceding recensions

¹ Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2te Ausg., Götting. 1851. Vo i. 80-175.

² *Die Quellen der Genesis*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid*, p. 98.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 101.

of the Document-hypothesis, and especially from Ilgen's, with regard to the source and extent of several important passages this scheme reduces the primary document, or, as it here called, "the original sketch" of Genesis, to the narrowest possible compass. For instance, the only portions that belong to it after Gen. xxxvii. 1, or the later part of Jacob's history and the whole of Joseph's, are xvi. 6-7; xlvii. 27-28; xlviii. 3-6; xlix. 29-33; i. 12-13, 22. How meagre and abrupt in that case this sketch must have been it is unnecessary to observe. But to return to the consideration of the "Complement-hypothesis," a theory which, be its fate what it may, is not likely to be superseded by either of the schemes of Hupfeld or Ewald, which notwithstanding, are symptomatic that the attacks of such assailants as Welte, Kurtz in particular, and also Keil, have not been ineffectual, but are surely hastening its overthrow.

The "Complement-hypothesis," by admitting the formal unity of the Pentateuch, and viewing it as a production which could be the result only of a careful revision, needs no longer to employ many of the arguments to which the earlier critics resorted. Thus little importance is attached to the superscriptions of sections,—now generally recognised as peculiarities of Oriental history,—to alleged repetitions and contradictions in different passages, though sometimes, with regard to these particulars, there is a manifest inconsistency on the part of its advocates, and to other supposed marks of independent composition, or of a fragmentary character. On the contrary, this scheme mainly rests its conclusions on peculiarities of expression, the chief of which is still the diversity in the use of the Divine names, and the peculiarities of ideas which respectively distinguish the ground-work from the supplementary matter. An explanation of the avoidance, throughout Genesis, of the name Jehovah by the original author, though it is admitted that the term must have been known to him, as he subsequently uses it, is found, it is thought, in Ex. vi. 3. From this passage, which is admittedly Elohistie, it is inferred that the writer believed that the name Jehovah was unknown previous to the revelation there intimated as made to Moses, and that, acting upon that view, he scrupulously avoided introducing it into his narrative throughout the period, where it could have been employed only proleptically.

Leaving the consideration of this and other particulars connected with the primary argument of the hypothesis, to the following section, it may be assumed, at least, that it was not in the light in which Tuch regards it the above passage was viewed by the reviser; for if so, he certainly paid no attention to it: nor did he greatly respect, in this particular, the scruples of his predecessor, though in other and less important matters he manifested, it is fully admitted by the advocates of this theory, something like a religious deference. Whatever view may be taken of the matter, it is beset with insuperable difficulties. For, admitting that the reason above assigned determined the original author to the exclusive use of the name Elohim, what motive could have induced the reviser to confine himself almost exclusively to the use of Jehovah, for Tuch allows of only one or two instances where he employs Elohim? No satisfactory answer can, on the present hypothesis, be given to this question in regard to such a usage by a writer who, as the case itself shows, must have been equally familiar with both names. Moreover, it is observed that, in numerous instances, the reviser, as he is called, adapts his additions so closely to the original, conforming even his style and expressions so carefully, as if with the design, as it certainly has the effect, of so perplexing modern critics, that frequently they are utterly at a loss to decide where the one writer ends and the other begins. And yet, on the other hand, the writer who can with such caution, disguise his hand, introduces even in his most insignificant interpolations, as Gen. v. 29; vii. 18; xx. 18; xxviii. 21, &c.,—a term which not only at once betrays him, but which, from its careful avoidance by the earlier writer, exhibits so marked a diversity of views on the part of these two authors, as to the religious relations of the pre-Mosaic period, as to be quite unaccountable. And this is the more striking, as the reviser allowed such a passage as Ex. vi. 3 to remain unchanged, and which thus afforded so ready a mark for detecting the mode in which he had treated the original of Genesis, although, as alleged by the critics, he did not hesitate in other cases, as in Gen. xvii. 1, to strike out the name Elohim and substitute the other in its stead.

This usage with respect to the Divine names, however, can, of itself, determine nothing as to a diversity of authors.

The present form of Genesis is itself in direct contradiction to the assumption that the name Jehovah was unknown previous to the time of Moses, or that the supposed original author purposely avoided its use. Some additional and independent test, then, must be employed for determining the matter. The same, also, on examination, will be found true with regard to the several criteria adopted: it will appear that, in themselves, and singly, they are of no value; for the contents of the various passages must ever determine the form, description, and manner of expression, and not any *à priori* standard. It is therefore quite arbitrary to say that this or that expression, especially if of very rare occurrence, is a peculiarity of the respective writers; it is at best only a probability, and even that may be indefinitely diminished by a consideration of the circumstances of the case. But the mode of classification adopted by the upholders of the "Complement-hypothesis" is, unquestionably the most arbitrary that it is possible to conceive of. First, all the passages having any resemblance to one another in expression, style, and sentiment, are arranged under one head, and regarded as the productions of a particular author; all the remaining passages not so distinguished are adjudged to a second author; and then on this criticism it is gravely concluded that there are distinct traces of a diversity of authorship in the Pentateuch, inasmuch as the peculiarities discernible in one class of passages are entirely absent from the other. Of course, in a classification formed on such principles the result could not be otherwise. No doubt, when invested with technicalities, and announced with all the pomp of critical language and learning, the rule appears in a more complex form than that in which it is here exhibited; but, nevertheless, it is essentially the same, and furnishes a most striking example of what is termed by logicians "reasoning in a circle."

But if the concurrence of two or more distinguishing characteristics in a given section is not conclusive as to its authorship, how much less when, as frequently happens, the marks are found to be in antagonism, and so equally divided as to demand the greatest critical courage to reject the one or the other, as circumstances may favour, in order to prevent the failure of the theory. Numerous examples of this, and the consequent diversity of views among the critics, will be found

in the following synopsis of what, according to the more eminent defenders of the hypothesis, constituted the original or groundwork of Genesis. In order to render the table more complete, and to present the newest phases of the subject, a place is given to Hupfeld, who differs from the other critics not so much with respect to the original, as to the supplementary writer or writers.

Groundwork of Genesis, according to

<i>Tuch.</i>	<i>Stähelin.</i>	<i>Knobel.</i>	<i>Delitzsch.</i>	<i>Hupfeld.</i>
i.-ii. 3. v. (29b.) vi. 9-22. vii. 11 (16b)- viii. 19.	i.-ii. 3. v. (29.) vi. 9-22. vii. 11-22, 24. viii. 1-5, 13, 16-19.	i.-ii. 3. v. (29.) vi. 9-22. vii. 4, 6, 7, 8b, 9, 10, 11-24, (16b.) viii. 1-19.	i.-ii. 34. v. (29.) vi. 9-12, 13-22. vii. 11-16a, 17-24, (22.) viii. 1-5, [6- 12?], 13, 14, 15-19.	i.-ii. 3. v. vi. 9-22. vii. 6, 11, 13- 16a, 17-22, 24. viii. 1-6, 8- 19.
ix. 1-17, 28, 29.	ix. 1-17, 28, 29. x. 1-7, 20, 22, 23, 30, 31. xi. 10-26.	ix. 1-7, 8-17, 28, 29. x. (8-12.) xi. 10-32.	ix. 1-7, 8-17, 28. x. (8-12.) xi. 10-26, 27- 32.	ix. 1-17, 28, 29. xi. 10.-26, 27-32. xii. 4b, 5. xiii. 6, 11b, 20. xvi. 3, 15, 16. xvii.
xii. 5, 6, 8. xiii. 18.		xvi. 1, 3, 15, 16. xvii. xix. 29. xxi. 1b-5.	xvii. xix. 29. xx. (18.) xxi. 1-8, 9-21, 22-32. xxii. 20-24.	xvi. 3, 15, 16. xvii. xxi. 2, 5.
xvii. xix. 29. xx. 1-17. xxi. 2-32.	xvii. xx. xxi.			
xxii. 1-13, 19- 24. xxiii. xxv. 1-11, 19, 20, 24-34.	xxii. xxiii. xxv. 1-20.	xxiii. xxv. 1-18, [19-34.]	xxiii. xxv. 1-11, 12- 18, 19.	xxiii. xxv. 7-10, 11, 12, 16b, 17, 19, 20, 21b- 26b. xxvi. 34.
xxvi. 34, 35. xxvii. 46. xxviii. 1-12, 17-22, (21b.) xxix. xxx. 1-13, 17- 24a. xxxi. 4-48, 50-54. xxxii. 1-12, (10b,) 14-33.	xxvi. 34, 35. xxvii. 46. xxviii. 1-19. xxxi. 17-44.	xxviii. 1-9.	xxviii. 1-7. xxxi. 4-xxxii. 1.	xxviii. 1-9. xxxi. 17, 18.

<i>Tuch.</i>	<i>Stähelin.</i>	<i>Knobel.</i>	<i>Delitzsch.</i>	<i>Hupfeld.</i>
xxxiii.-xxxvi.	xxxiii. 17-20. xxxiv.-xxxvi.	xxxiv. xxxv. 1a, 5, 6, 8, 9-15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23-29. xxxvi.	xxxiii. 18- xxxiv. xxxv. 1, 7, 8, 9-15, 16-26, 27-29. xxxvi.	xxxv. 9-15, 27-29. xxxvi. 1-8, 9- xxxvii. 1.
xxxvii. 2-36.	xxxvii.	xxxvii. 1-4, 23-27, 28, 31, 32a. xxxix.-xli.	xxxvii. 1-4.	
xxxix. 6-20. xl.-l.	xliii. xliv.-xlvi. 30. xlvii. 7-12, 27- 31. xlviii.-l.	xlvi.-xlviii. xlix. 29-33. 1. 12, 13.	xlix. 1. 12, 13.	xlvi. 6, 7. xlvii. 27, 28. xlviii. 3-6. xlix. 29-33. 1. 12, 13, 22.

The remaining Elohistie portions of the Pentateuch, according to Stähelin, with the additions of De Wette¹ *in brackets*, are:—Exodus i. 1-14, [ii. 23-25]; vi. 2—vii. 7; xii. 1-28, 37, 38, 40, 51, [37-51.] [xiii. 17-20]; xvi., [xviii.]; xix. 1, [xix.], [xx. 1-13.] xxv.-xxxv.; xxxv.-xl. Leviticus entirely. Numbers i.—x. 28; xiii. 2-17; [xiv. 10, 29,] xv.; xvi. 2, 4-11, 16-19, 20-23; xvii.—xix.; xx. 1-13, 22, 29: xxv.—xxvi. 7, 12-65; xxvii. 1-11, [12, 23]; xxviii.—xxxv., xxxvi. Deuteronomy xxxii. 48-52; xxxiv.

Knobel's arrangement of Exodus and Leviticus differs widely from this.² It will be enough, however, to give one or two instances. Thus, the original of Exodus consisted of Ex. i. 1-7, 13, 14; ii. 23-25; vi. 2 (8)—vii. 7, 18—13, 19-22) viii. 1-3, 11b, 12-15; ix. 8-12, 35; xi. 9, 10, &c. The critics, indeed, admit that there is less certainty with respect to the last four books of the Pentateuch, as their leading principle fails after Ex. vi. 3.

An inspection of the preceding synopsis will show at once not only the extent to which the "Complement-hypothesis" varies from the "Document-hypothesis," as at present repre-

¹ Einleitung, §§ 151-154, pp. 181-188. erklärt, Leip. 1857, pp. viii., ix.

² Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus

sented by Hupfield, but also how utterly discordant, save with respect to a very few passages, are the views of the supporters of the former theory. The amount of difference thus brought out is certainly not much less than that exhibited by the older critics. This is at least an indication that a sure basis has not yet been reached. A detailed examination of the subject would bring out even more strikingly the amount of discrepancy as to the value of the several tests applied in cases where the conclusions are identical, showing that the grounds on which a passage is not unfrequently adjudged to a particular author, are not only different, but sometimes contradictory.

How entirely conjectural, or dependent upon the most baseless dogmatic preconceptions, the majority of such conclusions are, the following examples will sufficiently show. Thus Knobel¹ accounts for the use of Elohim by the Jehovist in Noah's blessing on Japhet, Gen. ix. 27, from the fact that its use there would have been inappropriate, as the Japhetic nations did not worship Jehovah. Tuch² remarked merely that the distinction here made, as in Gen. iii. 2-5, shows that the Jehovist was fully conscious of the difference of the two names. Again, Knobel holds Gen. xx. to be Jehovistic; the peculiarities which would seem to indicate the Elohist, may, he thinks, be due to another old document, and the name Elohim in ver. 3, 6, 11, 13, 17, is retained because it is the account of a transaction with heathens.³ But in opposition to this, Tuch and Stähelin maintain that the whole character of the chapter is strictly that of the ground-work. With regard to chap. xxvii. 28, the use of Elohim determines nothing, according to Knobel; while Tuch accounts for the employment of that name on the ground of the poetical form of the blessing. Chap. xxviii. 10-xxxiii deserves particular notice. Knobel enumerates many peculiarities of the Jehovist in this section. The opposite characteristics arose from his use of other earlier documents. The name Elohim occurs in chap. xxx. 2, 6, 8, 17, 20, 22, 23; xxxi. 24, 42, 50; xxxii. 3; and this, with other two peculiarities, the double **בְּיָמָיו**, xxx. 43, and the designation **אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָמִי** given to Laban, xxxi. 20, 24, well agree, according to Tuch, with the Elohist. But in opposition to this,

¹ Die Genesis erklärt, p. 95.

³ Die Genesis erklärt, p. 164.

² Kommentar, p. 191.

Knobel maintains that the naming of the children by the mothers, and the forced etymologies, quite uncongenial to the original writer, are decisive against that view. Tuch holds that with the exception of chap. xxviii. 13-16, this whole section chiefly belongs to the Elohist, and that it must be so he concludes from the reference in chap. xxxi. 13, to xxxv. 1-7. He further regards chaps. xxix. xxx. as presenting special difficulties: for if on account of the use of Jehovah in xxix. 31-35, the whole chapter be ascribed to the Reviser, then the original, which mentions the purpose of Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia, contained nothing regarding his marriage and the birth of his four eldest sons, while chap. xxx., which is certainly a part of it, introduces Rachel and Leah as well known, and records the birth of the other sons.

Tuch unhesitatingly assigns chap. xxii. 1-13, 19, to the original; the expression, "the angel of Jehovah," ver. 11, so ill accords, in his view, with the other characteristics, that he considers it must be a corruption of "Elohim." But Knobel, on the contrary, ascribes the whole section to the Reviser, particularly because of the occurrence of Jehovah, ver. 11, 14, notwithstanding Elohim, ver. 1, 3, 8, 9, and which must have been used in preference to Jehovah because the matter related to a human sacrifice, while Hupfeld satisfies himself that the author of this fragment must have been one of the later writers, with the remark, that "for the simple Epic original it is too refined and deep." Further, with respect to chap. xxvi., Knobel admits that it contains numerous Elohist features which, however, must have been derived from some older document, but Tuch discerns nothing but what comports with the characteristics of the Reviser, even the use of Jehovah in the mouth of Abimelech, ver. 28, 29, which, however, it must be added, is somewhat at variance with the explanations assigned by Knobel, if not by Tuch, in other cases where it is thought the historian avoids the introduction of that name in transactions with heathens.

But the utterly vague, conjectural and conflicting character of such conclusions will even more strikingly appear, from the various efforts made for obviating the difficulties arising from numerous indubitable references from the original writer, to what the critics would assign to the author of the supple-

mentary matter. The recognition by the "Complement-hypothesis," of a definite plan in Genesis, to which the Reviser carefully adhered in his additions to the ground-work, removed, as already remarked, many objections to which every preceding theory was inconveniently exposed. Of these objections may be mentioned the references from one passage to another of the same writer, and even the references in the later writer, to statements in the earlier. But there are, on the other hand, numerous references from the earlier writer to statements in the supplementary additions,¹ which cannot be thus explained, and which furnish objections which upon the present system only became more formidable. A few examples of this kind are the references in Gen. v. 29, (notwithstanding the usual refuge in interpolation,) to iii. 17; chap. v. 3, to iv. 25; chap. xvii. 20, to xvi. 10; chap. xix. 29, to xiii. 10-13, xviii. 17-32; and xix. 1-25; chap. xxi. 9, to xvi. 15.¹ It is probably this circumstance that induces every succeeding exponent of these views continually to diminish the extent of the ground-work; a procedure, however, which is accompanied with disadvantages of an equally embarrassing nature; for this only leads to still greater chasms and disconnections in the original, which according to the first principles of this theory, constituted in itself a complete and distinct whole.

Of the arbitrary methods adopted for getting rid of such references, at all hazards to the integrity of the text and the connexion of the narrative, the following examples will suffice. Thus Gen. v. 29, now generally regarded as an interpolation of the Reviser, on account of the term *Jehovah*, the etymological explanation of the name of Noah, and the curse on the ground whereof the Elohists, according to Knobel, knew nothing, contains, as Tuch admits, an obvious allusion to Gen. iii. 17, a Jehovistic section; and this is unquestionably the chief reason which, notwithstanding its close connexion in the narrative, makes its exclusion imperative; for were it only the occurrence of the name *Jehovah*, that could easily be explained away as in other cases. But independently of this, there are other references to the narrative of the Fall, which cannot be so explained away, particularly the emphatic and

¹ See Keil, *Einleitung*, p. 79.

constantly repeated statement, "and he died," throughout this genealogical table.¹ Gen. v. 3, "Called his name Seth," refers to chap. iv. 25, where the import and origin of the name are explained.²

The notice in chap. xix. 29, which all admit to belong to the Elohist, "And it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the Plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in which Lot dwelt," refers to, and indeed would be utterly unintelligible without, the Jehovistic section, chap. xiii. 10-13, which accounts for Lot's residence in the locality here indicated, and chap. xviii. 17-32, which records God's purpose to destroy those cities, and Abraham's intercession on their behalf, and equally so without chap. xix. 1-25, which narrates Lot's deliverance from the destruction; and yet all of these passages are assigned to the Reviser. In vain do the critics endeavour to show that the relation of these latter passages to chap. xix. 29, is the converse of what the form, contents, and connexion clearly prove it to be, for they adduce no argument, but only the very assumptions of the theory which require to be proved. The form of the expression, *וַיְהִי בִשְׁמֹתָהּ*, makes it evident that the fact of the overthrow of the cities is taken for granted, as already well known from the preceding narrative, but still more does this appear from the whole of its contents.³

Chap. xx. begins, "And Abraham journeyed from thence," &c. This presents a difficulty to the critics, as the original had made no mention of Abraham's previous residence, and so indicated nothing to which *מִשָּׁם* could refer. Accordingly, Tuch feels the necessity of separating chap. xiii. 18, from the close connexion in which it stands, in order to furnish some support for such a reference, but Stähelin gets over the difficulty more easily, by assuming that *מִשָּׁם* is only an interpolation of the Reviser. Comp. also ver. 2 with xii. 11-13. So also xxi. 1-8, which records the birth of Isaac, contains not only references, as is admitted by the critics, to chap. xvii, but also to chap. xviii. 10, &c. Tuch observes, that the older writer, unconcerned as to connexion, introduces this incident

¹ See Kurtz, Beiträge, p. 129.

² Ibid, p. 132.

³ Kurtz, Die Einheit der Genes.
p. 101.

generally with *vav*, ver. 2, though referring chiefly to chap. xvii, while the Reviser makes the connection more definite by prefixing ver. 1, and by a reference, but not exclusively, to chap. xviii. 10, 14. Knobel, however, avoids all reference in the original to this latter passage, by simply limiting the Elohist section to chap. xxi. 1b-5, explaining the use of Jehovah in ver. 16, as in chap. xvii. 1, as intended to shew that the Elohim of these narratives was identical with the Jehovah of those which preceded. There are other references in this chapter to matters contained only in the assumed supplementary sections, as in ver. 9 to chap. xvi. 15, which records the birth of Ishmael by Hagar, which in the other passage is assumed as well known. So also chap. xxi. 31-33, which mentions Abraham's stay at Beersheba, refers to chap. xx. 1, and through this again to chap. xiii. 18; xviii. 1, by which alone chap. xxi. 1, becomes intelligible.

Tuch recognises in chap. xxxii. 10b a reference to chap. xxxi. 3, and also in ver. 13, a reference to chap. xxviii. 14 compared with chap. xxii. 17, and therefore considers these two passages as an interpolation of the Reviser, a conclusion which he thinks is independently confirmed by the occurrence of Jehovah in ver. 10b, although this portion of the verse is in the closest connexion with that which preceded, and forms the very foundation on which Jacob's prayer is here grounded,—the promise made to him by Jehovah of His presence with him on returning home. But Tuch is utterly at a loss to account, according to his premises, for the fear which Jacob entertained at the prospect of meeting Esau. He admits that the Reviser ascribes it to the deceit which Jacob had practised on his brother with respect to the blessing of the birthright, chap. xxviii. 41, &c., but he can see no trace in the original of any such enmity between the brothers, and so concludes that the sole foundation for Jacob's fears was his knowledge of the predatory disposition of the bedouin Esau. But Knobel, not fully satisfied with this explanation, for he recognises in Esau the injured and angry brother, ver. 21, and not the predatory bedouin, as Tuch represents him, regards chap. xxxii. 8-33 as purely Jehovistic, while both what precedes and follows belong to another Elohist document. Delitzsch also regards chap. xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 17, as Jehovistic, and accounts for the

repeated use of Elohim in chap. xxxii. 2, 3, 21-39 ; xxxiii. 5, 10, 11, on the ground of the evident purpose of the historian to distinguish between the spiritual world and that of mankind, between God and the creature. This writer, it must be remarked, is one of the most inconsistent defenders of the "Complement-hypothesis." Such concessions as he makes here, and in various other instances, as when he admits, in regard to chap. iv. 25 ; xxii. 1-19, that the change in the Divine names is intentional and significant, subvert the very foundation of the scheme, for if that view be fully and consistently carried out, it leaves no room for the assumption of a diversity of authors, at least it takes away what is reckoned the chief characteristic of the respective writers.

Other references from the original to notices found only in what are regarded as the additions of the later writer or reviser, but which need only be briefly indicated, are Gen. xxxv. 1-3, 7, where there is an allusion to the theophany at Bethel, chap. xxviii. 13-16 ; compare chap. xl. 4, with chap. xxxix. 21-23. Again chap. xlv. 12 refers to chap. xxxviii. 7-10 ; and chap. xlix. 8, 10 to chap. xxvii. 29-40.¹

In the middle books of the Pentateuch there are numerous references of a similar character, but as the hypothesis has not been so elaborately carried out with regard to these, it is unnecessary to enter into details. Suffice it to remark, that Exod. xxv.-xxx. containing the ordinances regarding the tabernacle, the priesthood, and the relative ritual, presupposes in various passages, as in chaps. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, and xxvii. 8, a meeting of Moses with Jehovah on Mount Sinai, but of which there is no notice, except in those portions which are ascribed to the Reviser, as chaps. xix. 2-25 ; xx. 15-23 ; xxiv. 1-18 ; and xxxi. 18. Further, Lev. xxv. 1 ; xxvi. 16, and xxvii. 34, refer to Ex. xx. 21, to xxv. 18, and xxxi. 18 to xxxiv. 28 ; for Lev. xxv. is only a detailed explanation of Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, and xxxiv. 21-23, which contain brief notices of the Israelitish festivals, and Lev. xxvi. is only an enlargement of Ex. xxiii. 20-23. So also Lev. xxiv. 10-16, presupposes that the law relating to blaspheming the name of Jehovah—Ex. xxii. 17, was already known.

¹ See Kurtz, *Die Einheit d. Genesis*, p. 199.

Further, Num. iii. refers to Ex. xii. 29, 30; and Num. xv. 20, in the expression "as the heave-offering of the threshing-floor," &c., to Ex. xxiii. 19. The expression in Num. xvi. 3, "the whole congregation is holy," is founded on Ex. xix. 6. Num. xvii. 16-28, assumes that, besides the Levitical company of Korah, parties from other tribes engaged in the insurrection regarding the priesthood, and refutes the hypothesis of Stäbelin and De Wette, already at variance with Num. xvi. 3, that the original writer knew only of Korah and his party, with which the Reviser mixed up the affair of Dathan and Abiram. Num. xviii. 12, 13, presupposes the arrangements mentioned in Ex. xxii. 28, and xxiii. 19; Num. xx. 1, which records the death of Miriam, plainly assumes that it was known from Ex. xv. 20, &c., who this person was; so close is the relation of the two passages, that Stäbelin regards Num. xxi. 1 as a later gloss. Num. xxvi. 65 refers to Num. xiv. 24, 38; Num. xxxi. 8, 16, presupposes xxii.-xxiv., and cannot have proceeded from the Jehovist, because the critics hold it to be in contradiction with these chapters. Num. xxxiii. 9 refers to Ex. xv. 27; Num. xxxii. 4, 33, refers to the victories recorded in Num. xxi. 21-35; Num. xxxiii. 15 refers to Ex. xvii. 1; Num. xxxiii. 16, 17, to Num. xi.; and Num. xxxiii. 40, to Num. xxi. 1-3.¹

It may be easily conceived what perplexity is thus occasioned to the defenders of the "Complement-hypothesis" by the occurrence, in what they regard as the original document, of any references of the nature now indicated, because such most clearly evince that the assumed original must, whatever was the precise relation of the writers, have been composed with some regard, at least, to the supplementary composition—a view directly the reverse of that with which the theory sets out. Nor is it less apparent to what extent this circumstance has modified the portions, both as to extent and continuity, variously ascribed by the documentary critics to the respective sources. The denial of any relation of the kind referred to, between passages of an assumed opposite character, thus becomes a necessity, whatever method may be adopted for that purpose; and while a recourse to interpolations promises the readiest escape

¹ Comp. Keil, *Einleitung*, p. 79, 80.

from any pressing difficulty, it is found that so utterly arbitrary is the practice pursued in the matter, that the one or the other passage is pronounced to be interpolated according as it presents to the several critics greater or less facilities for tearing it away from the connexion. At the same time, it may be noticed that the more usual course is to exclude from the groundwork whatever passages are likely to give trouble of this kind. This is the method chiefly adopted by Knobel, and by Hupfeld in his defence of the older form of the hypothesis. But this procedure, if it diminishes one class of difficulties, largely increases another, by shewing that the supplementary statements, which are thus necessarily multiplied, are even still more indispensable to a right understanding of the original, which, even when reduced to its narrowest limits, is in many places incomprehensible without the added sections. Thus, by the exclusion of the narrative of the Fall, between Gen. ii. 3, and v., the notice in ch. vi. 11-13, of a universal corruption of what had, at the creation, been pronounced very good (i. 9, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31,) is utterly enigmatical. And so with regard to innumerable other particulars, which may be gathered from an examination of the preceding Tables.

Thus far, on the general features and principles of the "Document-hypothesis," by which, under various forms, it is sought to disprove the genuineness of the Pentateuch. After the exposition given above of the successive changes which it has assumed in the hands of its promoters, it is unnecessary to add any further remarks with respect to the exceedingly arbitrary character of its fundamental principles. The two following sections will be devoted to a more specific examination of the chief arguments on which it rests—first, the interchange of the Divine names, a subject in itself, and independently of the purposes to which it has been here applied, of much interest and importance, as throwing great light on the scheme of revelation unfolded in the Mosaic writings; and next, the other alleged evidences of a diversity of authorship, arising from diversity of style, repeated accounts of the same transactions, and contradictions in the narrative.

SECT. II.—THE INTERCHANGE OF THE DIVINE NAMES AND THE DOCUMENT-HYPOTHESIS.

Hengstenberg, *Die Gottesnamen im Pentateuch*, *Authentie*, vol. i., pp. 181-414; E. T., pp. 213-393.—Drechsler, *Die Einheit u. Aechtheit der Genesis*, pp. 1-30. Hamb. 1838.—Kurtz, *Die Einheit*, pp. xliii.-liii.—Hävernick, *Einleitung von Keil*, I. ii., § 113, pp. 72-103.—Reinke, *Philologisch-historische Abhandlung üb. den Gottesnamen Jehovah*.—*Beiträge*, vol. iii., pp. 1-146. Münster, 1855.—Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, Art. *Jehovah*, vol. i., pp. 952-959.

The remarkable fact, that some sections of the Pentateuch, more especially of the book of Genesis, are characterised by the use of the Divine name Elohim, while others are distinguished by the name Jehovah, early attracted attention, as appears from various notices in the writings of Tertullian, Augustin, and other fathers of the Christian Church. The explanations of the usage, and of the relation of the two names to one another, offered by these writers, were not, however, very accurate or profound. But this is not at all a matter of surprise considering their ignorance of the Hebrew language. Besides the want of a proper philological basis for such inquiries, they laboured under the further disadvantage arising from the inaccurate rendering of the term Jehovah by *Κύριος* in the Septuagint. The subject was again taken up by the Rabbinical writers of the middle ages, who also, it may be supposed, were, from their dogmatic prejudices, but little qualified to contribute materially to a subject which, it will be found, concerned so directly the first principles of revelation, and the relation which, through His name, or the manifestation of himself, the God of nature and revelation sustains towards his moral creatures.

But far less satisfactory than any of the views hitherto propounded on this subject was the explanation first proposed by Astruc, to whom reference has been already made, and since more or less adopted by the various promoters of the Document-hypothesis. This was nothing more than that the diversity in the use of the names in question was owing to the fact that different writings had been employed in the compilation of Genesis, and the authors of which had a predilection for these respective appellations. The previous writers

on this subject agreed that there was a difference, and at the same time an internal connexion between the two names, indicative of two aspects of the Divine Being ; but the authors and promoters of the Document-hypothesis set out with the assumption, that between Elohim and Jehovah there was no internal connexion. This view, however, has been since considerably modified, particularly in the scheme propounded by Tuch. The same parties perceiving, and in this particular rightly that from the manner in which the respective designations are employed, the usage could not be accidental, next concluded, entirely on their own unsupported assumption of the want of all internal connexion between the two names, that Genesis and the Pentateuch must have been the work of different authors. This was, to say the least, disposing, in the most mechanical manner, of a question which, merely in a literary aspect, and apart entirely from considerations connected with revelation in its gradual development, merited a different mode of treatment.

But however this may be, the interchange of the Divine names having been now made an argument for subverting the unity, and therewith the genuineness of the Mosaic writings, the subject thus obtained an importance which it did not previously possess. Accordingly it was taken up by many able writers, to some of whom special reference will be made in the course of the following remarks. The assumption, of the want of any internal relation between the names Elohim and Jehovah, was the first point which the opponents of the Document-hypothesis were called upon to disprove; and next, to apply to the Pentateuch the principles deduced from the relation found to subsist between the two names. The following observations, though anticipating to some extent the fuller consideration of some of these particulars in another connexion, will accordingly be directed to these three points: the import of the name Elohim ; the origin and import of the name Jehovah, and particularly whether it was in use prior to the Mosaic age; and, lastly, the relation between Elohim and Jehovah.

§ 1. *The Import of the Name Elohim.*

Respecting the origin or etymology of the name Elohim

nothing can with certainty be affirmed; it being a disputed point among Hebraists whether it is to be referred to a root לָא signifying "to be strong," and which would make it to be expressive of "the Strong" or "Mighty One;" or to a root, פָּחַד , "to fear," "venerate," or "worship," whence it would denote "the Dread" or "Adorable One." The former is the view adopted by Gesenius,¹ Tuch,² Kurtz,³ and several other eminent Hebraists; but Hengstenberg, Hävernicks,⁴ and latterly Delitzsch,⁵ who at one time was of a contrary opinion, support the other etymology.

If the decision of this point involved much importance in its bearing on the present subject, it might be necessary to enter somewhat minutely into the leading arguments adduced on both sides, but as this happily is not the case, little more than a simple reference to some of the particulars will suffice. Those critics who would derive אֱלֹהִים the singular of אֱלֹהִים from פָּחַד "to fear," compare it with פֶּחַד "the object of fear," as a designation of God in Gen. xxxi. 42, 53, and they maintain that the idea thus expressed, is that which is most appropriate to the historical use of the name Elohim. This argument it must however be remarked, is not very conclusive. Indeed, the very fact that to express the "object of fear," a distinct term was employed, and one which has not the least grammatical relation to the name Elohim, is rather an evidence that the latter term did not involve that idea. Hengstenberg remarks that "the feeling of fear is the lowest which can exist in reference to God, and merely in respect of this feeling is God marked by this designation," and then he concludes, that as Elohim appears to be the widest and most general name, he is naturally led to such a derivation. With respect to these assumptions, it is enough to remark, that the feeling of fear or reverence is not of a primary but secondary or derivative character, for it originates in a conviction, that the object towards which it is cherished, has the power of injuring or aiding as disposed.

On the other hand, those who adopt the view which re-

¹ Thesaurus, p. 94.

² Kommentar üb. die Genesis, p. xxxix.

³ Die Einheit, p. xlix.

⁴ Vorlesungen üb. die Theologie des alt. Testaments, p. 38. Erlang. 1848.

⁵ Die Genesis, 2te Ausg. i. 31, ii. 171.

fers אֱלֹהִים to אֱלֹהִים from the root אָלַם, "to be strong," rely much on the circumstance that this derivation preserves the connexion between אֱלֹהִים, another name of God of frequent occurrence, and אֱלֹהִים, which on the other theory are entirely dissociated. The former of these terms, it is universally admitted, designates God as the Strong or Mighty One, being, with many other cognate terms, unquestionably derived from אָלַם, "to be strong." And further, some of the ablest Orientalists maintain, that the alleged root אָלַם, "to fear," of which there is no trace in Hebrew, and which is found only in the Arabic *aliha*, is itself a denominative¹ from אֱלֹהִים, and cognate with אֱלֹהִים, "to swear by God." For these and other reasons,² which it is unnecessary further to specify, it would seem, if one may hazard an opinion on a point of such difficulty, that the evidence preponderates in favour of the view which regards Elohim as descriptive of God as the Mighty One, the plural termination giving it further intensity as the ALMIGHTY. Hengstenberg indeed admits, that Elohim is essentially identical with El Shaddai, which all allow, signifies God Almighty.³ This will suffice for the present. Some additional remarks confirmatory of this view will be made when considering the relation of Elohim to Jehovah, as exhibited in the earliest portions of Genesis.

§ 2. *The Origin and Import of the Name Jehovah.*

The etymology of the name Jehovah, or *Jahveh*, as it would perhaps be more correctly written—for the vowel points on which the usual reading depends, belong to the word Adonai, which, by a Jewish superstition, as is well known to Hebrew readers, was substituted for what was regarded as the unutterable name—is more easily determined than that of Elohim just considered. No doubt various attempts have been made to deny it a Shemitic origin, and several writers, whose purpose it was to assign another source than revelation to the Hebrew religion, have referred the name Jehovah to Egypt,

¹ Fürst, Heb. Handwörterbuch, p. 90, Leip. 1851.

² See Malan, *Who is God in China*, pp. 52-69. Lond. Bagster.

³ Authentie, E. T., i., pp. 294, 297.

Phœnicia, and even to China. In matters of this kind there is nothing so improbable but it will gain acceptance in various quarters, particularly if commended by a show of learning or antiquarian research. Accordingly, excellent service has been rendered by Hengstenberg, Tholuck,¹ and others, who have proved incontrovertibly, that there is not a shadow of evidence for any such derivation of the term. There can be no question whatever, that the name as well as the idea is peculiarly Hebrew, and as little doubt can be entertained regarding its precise derivation.

It is agreed among the ablest lexicographers, and other writers on the subject, for the few dissentients scarcely deserve notice, that the term יהוה, however it may be pointed, is the regularly formed future Kal of the verb הָיָה, an obsolete form of הָיָה, "to be," and of which some traces, as the imperative, are preserved in the Biblical Hebrew, but only in poetry, which prefers the archaic forms, see Gen. xxvii. 29; Job xxxvii. 6; Isa. xvi. 4. This derivation of the name Jehovah, is confirmed by several passages of Scripture which bear on this point, and by one in particular, which gives the direct etymology.

The fundamental passage is Ex. iii. 13-16, where Moses inquired of God by what name he should make Him known to the Israelites, and was answered: "I am that I am (אֲנִי הָיָה אֲנִי); and He said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM (אֲנִי הָיָה) hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Jehovah (יְהוָה) the God of your fathers . . . hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial to all generations. Go, and gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, Jehovah (יְהוָה) the God of your fathers . . . hath appeared unto me." This passage places beyond doubt the correctness of the derivation of the term Jehovah given above, although there is still a question as to the precise idea which it expresses, or the relation in which it presents the Divine Being. The view generally received is to regard it as referring to the Essence of Deity, and expressive of the immutability of the Divine nature, but this

¹ Vermischte Schriften, vol i. pp.377-405. Hamb. 1839.

violently dissociates it from the light in which, as will be shown in another place, the idea was viewed by John in the Apocalypse; while various arguments can be adduced in support of the opinion which holds that it applies rather to God's manifestation of himself in some special manner, and with reference to His Church, than to his personality.

Hengstenberg, a strenuous defender of the first of these views, remarks: "Let it be settled that יהוה is the future of the verb הוה *to be*, it must be also admitted to mean, *He who is to be* (for ever)."¹ In favour of the gloss, "*for ever*," there is however no evidence: such a supplement is here quite unwarranted. For admitting, with Hengstenberg and others, that the future does point to more than a single act, and denotes something continuous, or constantly becoming afresh,² in the present instance it refers with far greater probability to the development of the idea expressed by the name, than to the unchangeableness of the Personal Essence. This, however, will be more apparent from a consideration of the times and circumstances in connexion with which the name Jehovah was brought most prominently into view.

The particular epoch when this designation first came into use, is next to be considered. From a statement in God's communications with Moses preparatory to the Exodus, it is frequently concluded that the name Jehovah was entirely unknown until that period, and that its occurrence in the earlier Scripture history must be regarded as proleptical. Ex. vi. 2, 3, "And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by EL SHADDAI; but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them." That this passage, however, affords no ground for such a conclusion, is evident from the following considerations:—1. If understood in this sense, it would be in direct opposition to Ex. iii. 14-16. In this earlier passage the name Jehovah is presupposed as already in use, and is only interpreted and applied with the view of bringing its deep significance before the people, that they might be aware of what they possessed in it; and in the subsequent communications, the discourse is constantly of Jehovah, the

¹ Authentie, E. T., i. 254.

² Ewald, Lehrburch d. Heb. Sprache, § 136 a. Leip. 1844. Gesenius, Gram. § 127. Conant's Tr. Lond. 1856.

God of the patriarchs. 2. Such an acceptance of the passage is precluded by various facts of the preceding history, which afford undoubted evidence of an early acquaintance with the name Jehovah. Although in patriarchal times it was the Divine name El that more commonly entered into the formation of proper names, there is one undeniable instance in which the name Jehovah appears. This is in the word Moriah, (Gen. xxii. 2, compared with 14), compounded of the Hophal participle of *ראה* *to see*, and of an abbreviation of *יהוה*; and which thus literally signifies "the shown of Jehovah;" that is, the appearance of Jehovah.¹ Other instances of this usage in a later but still pre-Mosaic period are Jochebed, the mother of Moses himself (Ex. vi. 20, Num. xxvi. 59)—a name which even Ewald admits is an exceedingly important testimony to the whole history²—Abiah (1 Chron. vii. 8), and also Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, and wife of Mered (1 Chron. iv. 18), which, however, will be more fully noticed afterwards. Another circumstance indicative of the early origin of the name Jehovah is, as already remarked, that the form of the verb from which it was derived had, even in the time of Moses, become obsolete.

The precise import of this passage (Ex. vi. 2, 3) will be considered in another connexion. Meanwhile it is enough to observe that it can afford no countenance to the supposition that this was the first promulgation of the name Jehovah; and it must be added that even if this were the case, that circumstance would obviously lend no support to the Document-hypothesis, or serve in any way to explain the supposed preference for Elohim by one writer of Genesis, and for Jehovah by another; for, if there be any contrast intimated here, it is not between Elohim and Jehovah, but between the latter and El-Shaddai, of the occurrence of which, and of other names in Genesis, the upholders of this hypothesis take no cognizance. So much, however, may be concluded from this passage, that between the patriarchal times and the period which witnessed the Exodus, there was a great distinction as to the knowledge of God in his character of Jehovah, whatever that name may be supposed to imply.

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentie*, i. 263. E. T., i. 276. Kurtz, *Geschichte*, vol. i., p. 214.

² *Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache*, p. 502.

But apart entirely from the foregoing considerations, there are passages in the book of Genesis where the name Jehovah is introduced in a way which utterly precludes the supposition that it is used proleptically, or that it is anything but a correct account of the incident and the actual term employed; as when, in his interview with Abraham, God is described as styling himself Jehovah, (Gen. xv. 7,) or when Jacob on his death-bed declares, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah," (chap. xlix. 18.) and which will be presently noticed. But a more striking passage is chap. iv. 1, which is the earliest instance of the use of this name; Eve declaring on the birth of her first-born, "I have gotten a man—Jehovah." Leaving for after consideration the propriety of this rendering of the passage, the import of the truth enunciated on this peculiar occasion, and a more particular inquiry into the grounds on which it may be conceived the term originated, it is in the meantime of importance to notice that there is no evidence that the appellation was in use previous to this. Throughout the history of the creation, the name Elohim only occurs, while in that of the fall, and in the extended account of the creation of the first human pair, which precedes it, the historian, when speaking in his own person, uses the designation Jehovah-Elohim, but when any of the parties he describes are introduced speaking, they use the name Elohim, which, so far as negative evidence can be conclusive, is at least a probable indication that the other appellation was then unknown. The name Jehovah cannot, therefore, be regarded, with Baumgarten, as having survived the fall; and it is certainly unadvisable to build any conclusions on such an assumption.¹ As employed by Eve at the birth of Cain, the term Jehovah occupies indeed a strangely isolated position. It is repeatedly used, no doubt, in the chapter at the head of which it thus unexpectedly appears; but in every other instance in a way which leaves it quite uncertain whether it be not merely the expression of the historian looking at the matter from his own point of view. It is never used on any occasion similar to the first; and what makes the matter more noticeable is the fact that the same speaker, on an after occasion, uses only the name

¹ Theologischer Commentar, i. p. 32.

Elohim, (chap. iv. 25). And yet, on this its first occurrence, the idea conveyed appears in nowise dubious or indefinite; on the contrary, it seems to have been quite familiar to the speaker, while it was certainly expressive of more than simply maternal feelings and aspirations.

Taking a careful survey of the circumstances of the case, and the relation in which the first mother found herself on giving birth to a living "seed," there need be no hesitation in concluding that the appellation thus employed had special reference to the memorable promise regarding "the woman's seed," (Gen. iii. 17,) made by God immediately after the fall; and may indeed be said to originate in the announcement of mercy then made. This conclusion is borne out by other indications presented in the history, few, indeed, but striking, of the faith with which the ancestors of mankind regarded the provision made for their restoration from a state of sin. Such is the fact of Adam's bestowing a new name on the woman, calling her Eve, or Life, because she was the mother of all living, (Gen. iii. 20;) and so also her own recognition at the birth of Seth, that God had given her "another seed," in the room of Abel, (chap. iv. 25,)—one who should, as she believed, maintain her quarrel with the destroyer.

The name Jehovah had thus, there is every reason to conclude, a special relation to redemption and the agent through whom the promised deliverance should be accomplished. This is further confirmed by the fact that it is at special epochs in the history of redemption, or in connexion with such promises, that it comes most prominently into view; as in the case of Eve just considered, of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac on Moriah, and more especially, the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, when the import of this name was so fully revealed, and set, so to speak, in a position from which it was never afterwards displaced. Viewing the matter in this light, there is presented an easy solution of the meaning and origin of the name. The character and the advent of "the seed of the woman," through whom, according to the Divine promise, man's deliverance was to be realized, must have been a subject of much thought and of frequent converse with Adam and Eve, who must necessarily have given him some specific name, and what so suggestive and expressive of reliance on the pro-

nise as the designation, יהוה, "He that shall be," or "shall come," ὁ ἐρχόμενος,—the Coming One, to whom the entire Old Testament Scriptures pointed, and for whose advent the patriarchs longed, seeing his day afar off, and to whose second advent the church now again looks forward with expectancy. Indeed, there can be little question that it was in the belief that the promise was realized in the birth of Cain, that Eve gave utterance to the expression, "I have gotten a man—*he that should be.*" It is easy to see how this general designation should in time become a proper name. The egregious mistake in the application of the promise, and consequently of the designation, committed by the first mother, furnishes no valid objection to this view, while it affords a sufficient reason why, as appears from the whole tenor of the history, the name was for the most part forgotten and gradually came into disuse until revived at the time of the Exodus.¹

§ 3. *The Relation of the two Names Elohim and Jchovah.*

If there be any truth in the preceding representation, it must be obvious that it was only as the Divine character of the promised Redeemer was gradually revealed and recognised, that the name Jehovah was assumed by or applied to God. Elohim was the general, the older, and, in fact, the proper name of the Divine Being. The idea expressed by it, whatever may be the exact etymology, is such as is conveyed to human consciousness by the mighty acts and operations of nature, which is a revelation of God in general,—a reflection of His eternal power and divinity (ἡ τε ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης, Rom. i. 20).² Elohim is God in his character of Creator, moral Governor, and Judge, rewarding the righteous and punishing the transgressors of his law; and this name alone would have sufficed had there been no moral disorder in creation, or if, on the occurrence of such, the Divine Being had expressed no intention of correcting that state of things. Any purpose of this kind, however, necessitated a revelation of another and

¹ For the fuller discussion of these questions, see *infra*. B. iii. ch. iv. Sect. 1.

² Alford, "*To his eternal power the*

evidence of Creation is plainest of all. Eternal, and Almighty, have always been recognised epithets of the Creator." Gr. N. Test. ii. 299. Lond. 1855.

higher form than any expressed in creation, which, notwithstanding that it was the work of the Almighty, and accordingly must be good, and rightly adjusted, contained no remedial provision. A new revelation again necessitated a new name. This is a principle which runs through the whole of the Old Testament, and is not lost sight of even in the New (Rev. ii. 17; iii. 12), being illustrated and confirmed on the various occasions when new names were bestowed on distinguished personages, in connexion with some memorable acts or incidents in their history.

It is in entire accordance with this that only the name Elohim is found in the history of the creation,—a fact which gives additional support to the supposition above advanced, that the name Jehovah did not come into use until after the fall, and more particularly originated in connection with the promised recovery. The relation previously subsisting between the Creator and his responsible creature was subverted through the fall. The revelation of God henceforward must be of a character to train man, viewed in his sunk and sinful condition, by holding out to his view the important truth, that there is forgiveness with God, that he may be feared (Psalm cxxx. 4). There is certainly no ground for holding with Hengstenberg, that the use of the two names was strictly contemporaneous; nor is his statement, that the constant use of the name Jehovah along with Elohim is traced in Genesis to the very origin of the human race, at all supported by evidence. The reverse of this is clearly indicated in the history. Not until the birth of Cain, and after a new relation had intervened, is there any trace of the name Jehovah. But, even in the absence of any evidence on the subject, there is no room for such a conclusion; for if, as Hengstenberg maintains, the names were contemporaneous, the one or the other must have been entirely meaningless. For, as he himself remarks: “From the close relation of name and thing, the twofold name must have a twofold aspect of God for its basis.”¹ But what twofold aspect, it may be asked, could God exhibit towards holy, unfallen beings, such as man was at his creation? Without, however, insisting at present on this and other difficulties, which such a view presents, it may be remarked, that it is this confusion

¹ *Authentic*, E. T. i. 292.

of ideas, arising from the assumption that the two names were contemporaneous, and from not perceiving their precise relation to one another, which has rendered the labours of Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Kurtz, and others, on this subject so very unsatisfactory, as acknowledged by some of themselves. Thus Drechsler, in particular, felt latterly how untenable was the character of the results to which Hengstenberg and himself had arrived.¹

The bearing of the preceding observations on the questions raised by the "Document-hypothesis" has next to be considered. And first, it has to be remarked, that independently of the correctness or otherwise of the views advanced regarding the origin of the name Jehovah, and the precise idea which it originally conveyed, this much is certain, that it was in use prior to the Mosaic age, and before any of the patriarchal traditions could have been committed to writing. It must accordingly, to say the least, appear an exceedingly strange circumstance, that any annalist of a succeeding age, placing on record traditions handed down among his countrymen, or derived from foreign sources, relating so much to God's dealings and communications with his people, and to various acts of adoration and homage on their part, should exhibit such a strong partiality for any one of the Divine names, that he should invariably, and in all circumstances, use it to the exclusion of the other—whether the one he adopted was Elohim or Jehovah. This surprise is nowise diminished, but rather increased by another alleged fact, that not merely one but several, indeed all who undertook to record the ancient traditions, or work them up, with the aid of other documents, into a more complete and symmetrical form, should manifest the same rare idiosyncrasy.

So far as any weight may be attached to this circumstance,—and it is one of which no sufficient explanation has been offered—it furnishes to that extent an antecedent improbability as to the fundamental principle of the Document-hypothesis. The exclusive use of the name Elohim by the original

¹ Delitzsch, *Die Genesis*, ii. 177. gen in *Studien u. Kritiken*, for 1852, Compare as to the insufficiency of these pp 69-94. theories in general, Tiele, *Bemerkun-*

writer of Genesis has indeed been referred to a purpose consistently to carry out a view, which it is assumed that he entertained, that the other name was unknown until the exodus. But both these assumptions are utterly destitute of evidence. The intimation in Exodus (vi. 2, 3), usually adduced in support of the latter, has been found to be incapable of such a construction,—a fact acknowledged by the more considerate defenders of this hypothesis, as, for instance, Tuch and Delitzsch. But, admitting this to be otherwise, the other supposition would still be nothing better than conjecture. And even if it could be established, with respect to this particular writer, that such was the motive which led him to adhere so rigidly to the name Elohim, what explanation will embrace more than one case of the same kind, or account, on the views of Hupfeld, and partly of Knobel, for a similar usage by two Elohist writers, and particularly for the opposite practice of the Jehovist?

Passing over, however, all preliminary objections in order to test the theory itself, it appears not only, that its advocates, as already fully stated, are not agreed whether the Pentateuch, and Genesis in particular, is the work of two or more authors, or how the productions have been combined into the form which they now present,—points of themselves sufficient to prove how exceedingly unsatisfactory are the critical tests by which it is attempted to analyse the mass; while it is further seen that there are also the greatest differences of opinion with respect to particular passages among critics who are agreed as to general principles. Some passages, indeed, would seem to defy all theories. Thus there are many which upon the ground of some peculiar structure, or other characteristic, are pronounced, it may be, to belong to the Elohim document, and yet the leading feature of the theory is at fault, owing to the occurrence of the other name sometimes in company with, but as frequently in the room of, that which the circumstances required. So also with regard to passages which are identified as belonging to the other document, or the supplementary matter. In these circumstances, as already shown by numerous examples, the results not corresponding with the premises, the mode of escape from so disagreeable a conclusion is to pronounce the particular name, or perhaps the clause or verse in which it

is contained, if it can be at all severed from the connexion, an interpolation, or an attempt of the editor to produce uniformity,—a very easy, but at the same time unsatisfactory explication of such difficulties, and one, moreover, with regard to which scarcely two of the critics themselves will be found to be practically in unison.

A marked example of this is presented in the views entertained with respect to the occurrence of the name Jehovah in Gen. xlix. 18. This is a passage which greatly perplexes the critics. It led Astruc and Eichhorn to ascribe ver. 1-28 to the Jehovist; but which Gramberg assigned to the Elohist, on the ground that *Jehovah* in ver. 18, was merely an interpolation; and Ilgen, to the second Elohist. With Gramberg, agree De Wette and Stähelin, who, however, take little notice of the difficulty. But Tuch, while allowing that Jehovah is most appropriate in this connexion, and also that the whole passage belongs to the ground-work, holds that it must be older than the Elohist, who introduced it without alteration into his composition,¹ an admission which must be seen to be fatal to the chief criterion of the "Document-hypothesis." Knobel, however, with more regard to the theory, maintains that the Elohist would have avoided the use of the term, and he therefore concludes, that this must be the composition of a later writer, but he has still greater difficulty in assigning it to the Jehovist, as it is evidently much older than his time.²

Other and sufficient instances have been given in the preceding section, of the ease with which the critics of the Document-hypothesis set aside what in other circumstances they pronounce the decisive testimony of the Divine names. But what can be said of a scheme of criticism which cannot be reduced to any definite rules, or if so, yet conducts to the most opposite conclusions, even when applied by such as are most conversant with it, and who certainly cannot be accused of any prejudice in favour of the subject which they thus treat.

More especially, it is to be noticed that, with regard to one very important section of Genesis—ch. ii. 4 to iii. 24—and one presenting very peculiar combinations and interchanges

¹ Kommentar ub. die Genesis, pp. 583, 355.

² Genesis erklärt, p. 324.

of the Divine names, the Document-hypothesis offers no proper explanation. The combination, *Jehovah-Elohim*, so frequent in this section, where it occurs about twenty times, is elsewhere exceedingly rare; and if it should be regarded as the peculiar characteristic of a particular author, he must be distinct from the other writers of Genesis. To whom, then, is this fragment to be ascribed, seeing that it combines in so singular a manner the distinguishing marks of the two generally assumed writers of that book? To this question the supporters of the Document-hypothesis have given various and contradictory answers. Eichhorn,¹ regarded it as a whole by itself, and held that the documents, properly so called, begin only with chap. v.; but later writers generally ascribe it to the Jehovist, or, according to the other form of the hypothesis, the Reviser; while some, as Tuch, account for the compound designation from the writer's design to identify the *Elohim* of the original with the Being whom he himself names *Jehovah*.² This explanation, however, contains only a portion of the truth. That it was with the view of identifying *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, may be readily granted, though not precisely in the sense in which Tuch regards it.

From an examination of parallel passages containing this remarkable designation, *Jehovah-Elohim*, it appears that the two terms are in apposition—a fact long ago recognized by Le Clerc; the combination being thus equivalent to the expression, “*Jehovah, who is Elohim*.” An explanation or paraphrase of the designation is probably contained in such passages as these:—“Who is *Elohim* save *Jehovah*?” and where *Jehovah* Himself declares, “Besides me there is no *Elohim*,” and “There is no *Elohim* with me,” (Ps. xviii. 32, [31]; Isa. xlv. 6; Deut. xxxii. 30). This view is fully confirmed by the only other passage in the Pentateuch where the same combination occurs. Thus Moses addressing Pharaoh, (Ex. ix. 30,) “But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not fear *Jehovah-Elohim*.” On which Hengstenberg well remarks, though erring in the general conception he has formed on the subject: “That *Jehovah* was the God of the Hebrews, the Egyptians readily allowed. But the acknow-

¹ Einleitung, vol. iii., pp. 39, 110.

² Kommentar üb. die Genesis, p. 64.

ledgment of Jehovah in this sense was not sufficient to induce them to let Israel go. That *Jehovah* was the Most High, and God alone, the Lord of heaven and earth, to impress this truth on both them and the Israelites, was the object of all the plagues, and this object had hitherto been very imperfectly attained. Every time, as soon as the impression had abated, they made a distinction between Jehovah and Elohim, and imagined that in heaven they could find a powerful defence against Jehovah." So also it was with the controversy in which Elijah long after was called to act so prominent a part. In 1 Kings xviii. 21, that prophet represents it that the great question at issue in his day between the worshippers of the true God and of Baal, was whether Jehovah or Baal was *Ha-Elohim*—the proper Elohim.

Further, notice must be taken of the relation in which this particular section, containing throughout, with but three exceptions, this remarkable compound,¹ stands as respects the Divine names, to the sections by which it is preceded and followed. In the first section of Genesis (chap. i.-ii. 3), the historian invariably designates God as Elohim, the relation which, as Creator, he sustained to a creation all the parts and combinations of which he had, on its completion, pronounced to be "very good"—a relation clearly indicated and foreshadowed in the very first occurrence of the term Elohim: "In the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth;" (Gen. i. 1.) When sin, however, marred the order thus introduced, and rendered it necessary for the Creator to interpose, and accordingly to appear in a new character, the historian, in narrating the earliest incidents in the experience of fallen man—the propagation of the race, the very marked commencement of the controversy between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, and the acts of adoration and worship rendered to God as the God of salvation, and with faith directed to the great promise (chap. iv.)—invariably uses the designation Jehovah, which, as already stated, he had shown (ver. 1) was introduced, or was at least in use soon after the fall. His

¹ Exclusive of this section there are only four passages where this combination occurs twice, viz., Ps. lxxxiv. 9, 12; 2 Sam. vii. 22, 25; 1 Chron. xvii.

16, 17; and 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42, where it is repeated thrice. But in all these instances it is in addresses to God, and not in historical narrative as here.

retaining Elohim in ver. 25, contrary to the whole strain of the chapter, and also in chap. iii. 1, 3, 5, shows that it must have been the actual term employed on the occasions there referred to. The same historical fidelity must be recognised also in the use of Jehovah in chap. iv. 1, although throughout the rest of the chapter that name is presented from the historian's own point of view. By the mode in which the name Elohim was used in the first section of the history, the reader was familiarised with the idea, the name was, as it were, defined; and so, also, by the use of Jehovah in the third section, the reader was made acquainted with the new name and idea on which the faith and expectations of the pious were founded since the fall, though, of course, not with the clearness attained at the time of the composition of this narrative; while the intermediate section, by its use of the name Jehovah-Elohim, not only connected the past state of things with the present, but also, at the very outset of the Bible, served to elevate the reader to the point to which the identity of Jehovah and Elohim had been brought at the time of the composition of the history.

That such is the object which the writer of Genesis had particularly in view by this remarkable interchange of the Divine names at the commencement of his work, is proved by the following considerations:—

- First, the identification of Elohim and Jehovah as carried out in the opening of Genesis was the great truth which God sought to establish in the mind of Moses himself when he appointed him to deliver his Israelitish brethren from Egypt, and which he would, through him, communicate to the people. Thus, Ex. iii. 6, 13-15, “Moreover He said, I am the God (*Elohim*) of thy father, the God of Abraham . . . And Moses hid his face; and he was afraid to look upon God (*Ha-Elohim*). . . . And Moses said unto God, Behold when I am come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me, What is His name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and He said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I am* hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, the Lord God of your fathers

(יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִי) . . . hath sent me unto you : this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations." But still more explicitly is it declared in Ex. vi. 1-3, that it is the same God who formerly appeared to Abraham and the other patriarchs, that now appears for the redemption of Israel from Egypt ; although there was an important distinction between the manner in which he was apprehended by the patriarchs, and that in which he should now be revealed. " And God (Elohim) spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I [am] Jehovah : and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by EL-SHADDAI ; but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them." And again, ver. 7, which declares what would be the result of the deliverance, " I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you Elohim, and ye shall know that I am Jehovah your Elohim, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians."

It is here the unsatisfactory character of the view of Hengstenberg and others, of an earlier period, as Calvin, regarding the import of the name Jehovah, becomes most apparent. It certainly offers no explanation of, but is directly opposed to this passage, as well as to others in the book of Genesis.

The idea of the Being, or the absolute Being, referring to God's self-existence and unchangeableness, which this view attaches to the name Jehovah, does not present such a contrast to the name El-Shaddai, as the present passage evidently requires. Nor does it accord with the circumstances of the people, or with what, as Hengstenberg himself states, they needed when, as Moses anticipated, they would ask after the name of God, (Exod. iii. 13). And still less does it agree with the promises made on this very occasion, (vi. 6,)—" I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm and with great judgments." Considering that the whole might of Egypt was then engaged in keeping the Israelites in a state of oppression and servitude, the name El-Shaddai itself, as indicating the Almighty power engaged on their side, was certainly as well fitted to impart encouragement to them in the circumstances in which they were placed, as any term expressive of some abstract idea of unchangeableness or self-existence. If at any time in the earlier history of God's people, there was needed faith in his power, it was certainly so on this occasion ; nor can it therefore

be reasonably supposed that El-Shaddai would give place to any idea so indefinite as that which has been suggested.

The name Jehovah must indicate at least some relation in which God specially draws near to his people, and through which he manifests himself more fully than by any displays of power, however glorious or irresistible. It is a covenant relation into which he enters with them, and by which he engages to be their God, and to take them for his people, (ver. 7). God in his character of Jehovah will thus fulfil those promises on which faith rested from the beginning; and as such he will be more fully recognised for the future. Indeed, it is a future relation that is specially indicated by the word, whether used in the first person, אֶהְיֶה, or in the third, יִהְיֶה, literally, "I will be," and "He will be," the latter of which, when formed into a noun is, "He who will be." The very use of the first person in explanation of the term Jehovah, (Exod. iii. 14,) shows that this is a case not strictly parallel, as Hengstenberg maintains, with that of other proper names formed from the third person future. That the idea has more in it of the future than of the present, and with reference to the Divine manifestation is the view held by Baumgarten,¹ Delitzsch,² and others.³

By the expression, "*My name Jehovah*," it is intimated that there was here intended a revelation of the whole fullness of God. That the *name* is to be considered as a manifestation of the Divine nature appears from Ps. cxxxv. 13, where after a notice of God's glorious manifestations of himself, it is added, "Thy name, O Jehovah, endureth for ever; and thy memorial, O Jehovah, throughout all generations." This passage has a special bearing on that now under consideration. Jehovah was a name revealed for all time, and expressing a perpetual relation. "This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations," (Exod. iii. 15, comp. also Hos. xii. [5,] 6). Jehovah is peculiarly the God of revelation,⁴ and in that precise relation in which he is

¹ Theologischer Commentar zum Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 30.

² Die Biblisch-prophetische Theologie, p. 30. Leip. 1845. Die Genesis, p. 32.

³ See MacWhorter, Jehovah considered as a Memorial Name. Bib. Sac. Jan. 1857, pp. 98-124.

⁴ Kurtz, Geschichte des alt. Bundes, vol. i. p. 20.

presented from the first announcement of redemption, (Gen. iii. 15, comp. iv. 1). The name was thus strictly confined to the Israelites as the covenant people—"And all people of the earth shall see that the name of Jehovah is called upon thee," (Deut. xxviii. 10)—and so even in this respect differed from the names El and Elohim, traces of which appear among other nations. It was one, moreover, which no subsequent revelation should displace, but only present in a clearer light through the realization of the idea which it expressed.

Only on the supposition that the name Jehovah was connected with redemption, as it is expressly in this very passage, (Exod. vi. 6,) can any tolerable account be given of its first occurrence in Scripture, and of its subsequent relation to the term *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* of the New Testament, which originated in the promises in the books of Moses and the prophets, which prepared for the coming of Jehovah in the person of the Messiah.

Secondly, it is to be noticed that the peculiar designation, Jehovah-Elohim, is dropped in the narrative, so soon as the identity of the Being known by the separate appellations is believed to have been apprehended by the reader. Its subsequent use, at least to any considerable extent, would only introduce confusion; and it is, indeed, remarkable that the expression occurs only once again in the Pentateuch, and not until a necessity arose of urging anew, and on a very important occasion, the great truth already established in minds differently disposed from those represented by Pharaoh and his servants, to whom it must be again addressed, and of whom Moses declared in Ex. ix. 30—a passage already quoted, "But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not fear *Jehovah-Elohim*."

Finally, if any further evidence were needed that such was the historian's object in using Jehovah-Elohim in this portion of Genesis, it would be found in the fact, that after the end, according to the view now contended for, had been obviously attained, he ascribes, in subsequent portions of his narrative, the same acts and attributes to Elohim and Jehovah indifferently; just as is found to be the practice of the other Old Testament writers. Thus, in various passages of the Pentateuch referring to creation, the same works are attributed to Jehovah which in Gen. i. were ascribed to Elohim: as, for

instance: "In six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh day; wherefore Jehovah blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it," (Ex. xx. 11; see also chap. xxxi. 17). So also the expression, "God of the spirits of all flesh," which is founded on Gen. ii. 7, ("Jehovah-Elohim breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,") is predicated of Jehovah, (Num. xvi. 22; xxvii. 17, [16,]) because He it is who gives to His creatures "life and breath, and all things," (comp. Acts xvii. 25). Of course the defenders of the Document-hypothesis have another explanation for facts of this kind; they ascribe them to an author writing from a totally different point of view—an assumption, to say the least, far less probable than the view now suggested. But to proceed: even in Genesis itself there occur numerous passages where the interchange of the Divine names is particularly marked, and obviously intended to impress the reader with the identity of the agency concerned in the several acts. Of this the history of the flood (chap. vi.-ix.) furnishes repeated instances. Thus, "Jehovah said, I will destroy man, whom I have created," (chap. vi. 7). But more remarkable is a subsequent passage: "They that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as Elohim had commanded him: and Jehovah shut him in," (chap. vii. 16). "And Elohim remembered Noah, . . . and Elohim made a wind to pass over the earth," (chap. viii. 1). "And Elohim spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark," (ver. 15, 16). "And Noah builded an altar unto Jehovah," (ver. 20). But it is unnecessary to multiply examples of this promiscuous usage, only indulged in, however, after the great object which the historian had in view, in his use of the Divine names, has been set on a firm foundation, and then for the purpose of still further confirming and illustrating that great principle.

Taking the import of the name Jehovah, as given above, it is easy, moreover, to discern the reason why, in the later books of the Pentateuch, or that portion which relates to the institution of the theocracy, this name should appear more frequently than the other; and how, on the other hand, in the earlier history, the reverse should be the case. First, through the circumstances attending the Exodus, and the covenant established with Israel, the great principle of redemption was set in a

light which it never occupied before; Elohim, as He Himself declares, (Ex. vi. 3,) having at that memorable epoch pre-eminently manifested Himself as Jehovah. To such a degree was this the case, that, in comparison with the disclosure now made, the patriarchal knowledge of God in this relation was as if it had no existence—"I was not known to them," (נִדְעָתִי emphatic, as in Ezek. xx. 3; xxxviii. 23). Again, this idea being less prominent in the early period, especially after a gradual corruption of religion and manners had more and more obscured the lustre of the first promise, the historian uses the name Jehovah less frequently, even when describing matters from his own point of view, which, however, is always subordinate to the object of tracing the development of the Divine revelation. But at no period does it appear that the name was utterly lost, though at special epochs of reviving faith and expectation it came more prominently into view.

So much, in general, on the interchange of the Divine names throughout the Pentateuch, and more particularly on the usage noticeable in the early chapters of Genesis; and in respect to which, from its very marked and distinct character, the explanation may be presumed to be more satisfactory than in passages where the interchange is less definite, as is the case in the remainder of the Pentateuch. With regard to this, indeed, the reasons which induced the historian to adopt the one name or the other in any particular case, are not always sufficiently evident; and it must be acknowledged that the attempts made by Hengstenberg, Drechsler, and Kurtz, to connect in every instance the particular name with the contents of the respective sections, are, upon the whole, far from satisfactory, and, in fact, more especially in the hands of Hengstenberg, involve so many arbitrary assumptions as to reduce them very much to the level of the schemes in opposition to which they have been propounded.

It is certainly possible, and indeed in the highest degree probable, that the choice, in every instance, of the respective names by the historian, as it certainly was generally, may have been greatly influenced by the specific character of his subject; but other considerations, no doubt, also operated, and of which, as no express intimation is given, the reader may be utterly in ignorance. However much this may have been

the case with the author of the Pentateuch, the view is greatly countenanced by the usage of the later writers. How little attention they paid to the distinctive significance of the two principal Divine names, can be clearly evinced by numerous passages. Thus, in particular, in David's prayer before Jehovah, as given by one writer (2 Sam. vii. 18-25), the designation *Adonai-Jehovah* occurs four times in succession, followed by *Jehovah-Elohim* twice, while, as reported by the writer of the parallel passage (1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17), the names occur in the order and form of *Jehovah-Elohim*, *Elohim*, *Jehovah-Elohim*, *Jehovah*. Compare also the blessing of Moses (Num. vi. 24-26), "Jehovah bless thee," &c., with the form in which it is given in Ps. lxxvii. 1, "Elohim be merciful to us and bless us."¹

But, indeed, the principle on which Hengstenberg so confidently relies is virtually abandoned by him on every other occasion. Thus he remarks: "Elohim, as already shown, becomes Jehovah only through revelation, only by a historical process; but after he has in this way become Jehovah, he is recognised as operating, not only in the facts of revelation, but also in the facts of nature. The religious principle, when it has once attained distinctness and life, beholds everywhere the living and personal God." Again, "The name Elohim stands not unfrequently in passages which treat of the facts of revelation;" and, "on the other hand, Elohim stands where we might expect Jehovah, owing to a sentiment of reverential fear. The most striking example is in 2 Sam. xii. 16. As a punishment for David's transgression against Jehovah his child was to die, ver. 15. 'Jehovah struck the child,' and He was the only Being who could save it. 'David, therefore, besought *Ha-Elohim*' for its life, ver. 16. That he expected its recovery from *Jehovah*, appears particularly from ver. 22: 'for I said, who can tell whether Jehovah² will be gracious to me that the child may live?' But he did not venture to address his prayer directly to Jehovah, from a dread of his holiness and wrath against sin."³

The reason thus assigned, from the supposed convictions of David, for the interchange of the Divine names in the pas-

¹ Tiele, Stud. u. Krit. 1852, p. 81.

² The English version has here erro-

neously "God," as if the original were Elohim.

³ Authentic, E. T. i. 302.

sage last adduced must be pronounced extremely unsatisfactory. It must in fact be felt by all who have given attention to the principles on which Hengstenberg seeks to dispose of the difficulties arising from this usage in the Pentateuch, that, with so many qualifications, to the effect that in certain instances either name would be suitable, and then so many assumptions as to what influenced the writer in selecting one name rather than another, very plausible arguments might be constructed for explaining, not only the actual facts, but even the reverse of those which really occur. It is, undoubtedly, far safer to regard such passages as 2 Sam. xii. 16 as a proof that the sacred speakers and writers in a great measure employed the Divine names, if not strictly indiscriminately, yet certainly with a great degree of latitude, being influenced by considerations but rarely discernible by the reader.

The early portion of Genesis (chap. i.-iv.) forms, as already shown, a notable exception ; and there are also some other passages where a probable account can be given of a marked variation in the occurrence of the Divine names. Thus, for instance, Gen. vii. 16 : " And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as Elohim had commanded, and Jehovah shut him in." The interchange here may be designed to show the different relations which God sustains to the creation in general, and towards man. Some other instances will be presently noticed. But, beyond the general principle deduced from the usage in the opening sections of the work, that one great object of this interchange was to identify Elohim and Jehovah, the Creator and Redeemer, in connection, however, with the fact that, for the reasons already stated, the former name occurs more frequently in the earlier portion of the history, and conversely in the later, no considerate critic will venture to go. But for the present purpose this is unnecessary. To have established the fact, that the interchange of the Divine names, even in one section only of Genesis, was intentional, and though the precise object which the author had thereby in view may be nothing more than a probability, even that is sufficient to outweigh the crude assumptions of a hypothesis which discerns in the usage only a complexity of production, and which, moreover, in innumerable instances, is reduced to the most unscrupulous, and often contradictory, expedients, in order to neutralize the force of plainly opposing facts.

But further, a distinction must be made between the use of the Divine names directly by the historian himself, for it is only to such cases the above principle applies, and by the actors in the scenes narrated, as when the terms purport to be those actually employed on any given occasion. Attention to this will greatly simplify the matter by limiting the inquiry into the religious consciousness of the speakers, apart entirely from the views and intents of the writer. All critics are agreed, for instance, that in the conversation between Eve and the serpent, (Gen. iii. 1-5,) the use of Elohim only is appropriate, but there is the greatest diversity of opinion as to the reason of its being so employed contrary to the usage observed throughout the chapter, some holding that the historian considered that any other name would be incongruous in the mouth of the serpent,¹ and others, like Hengstenberg, regarding it as an artifice of the tempter to shake the woman's faith in Jehovah, as the present, personal God. All such questions are easily disposed of by the perfectly warrantable supposition that the name used on that occasion was the only one then known. So also the occurrence of Jehovah and Elohim in chap. iv. 1, 25, is easily explained when it is considered that these were the very terms used by Eve. The language of Noah in blessing Shem and Japhet, (ix. 26, 27,) is also a case of this kind, and the distinction between "Jehovah the God of Shem," and "Elohim shall enlarge Japheth," is to be resolved into the conceptions prophetically formed by the patriarch of the relative position as regards Divine revelation of these two branches of his posterity. The case of Abraham presents even less difficulty: God had distinctly declared to him, "I am Jehovah that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees," (xv. 7,) a truth fully recognised in Abraham's subsequent statement, chap. xxiv. 7, "Jehovah, God of heaven, which took me from my father's house, and from the land of my kindred, and which spake unto me," &c. That even previous to this express announcement by Jehovah of himself, the patriarch knew perfectly by whom he had been called, appears from the fact that upon his entrance into the promised land he built an altar, and "called upon the name of Jehovah,"

¹ So Drechsler, *Die Einheit u. Aechtheit*, p. 77.

(chap. xii. 8,) a practice which subsequently he repeatedly observed, (chap. xiii. 4; xxi. 33,) and which was kept up by Isaac, (chap. xxvi. 25). It is quite consistent with this that the name Jehovah should be that almost invariably employed by Abraham, and by the members of his family, as by Sarah, (chap. xvi. 2, 5,) and by his servant, who was commissioned to obtain a wife for Isaac, (chap. xxiv.,) and who, before undertaking the journey, had been made to swear by "Jehovah, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth," (ver. 3). In his reply to Abimelech, Abraham used the name Elohim, (xx. 11, 13,) possibly as more level to the apprehension of the heathen; but the same name also occurs in answer to Isaac, (chap. xxii. 8,) "God (Elohim), will provide himself a lamb," &c. יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים יֵרָאָה parallel with יְהוָה יֵרָאָה, ver. 14, showing how completely the patriarch maintained the view of the personal identity represented under the different names.

The usage in the cases of Isaac and Jacob is so much of the same character that it needs not to be further examined. But notice must be taken of some facts which may be supposed to militate against the view proposed.

First, Laban, to whom no Divine communication had been made, and whose religious consciousness was of a totally different character from that of the Israelitish patriarchs, uses, nevertheless, the name Jehovah, saluting Abraham's servant with, "Come in, thou blessed of Jehovah," (chap. xxiv. 31): and both he and Bethuel remark on the servant's proposition, "The thing proceedeth from Jehovah," and, "as Jehovah hath spoken," (ver. 50, 51). This knowledge, however, it is probable, was entirely derived from the servant himself; it may have been a simple echo of his own words. In the first instance, it may have arisen from the report made by Rebekah, (ver. 30,) of the utterances and prayers at the well, and subsequently from the servant's own statements.

Again, Abimelech, king of Gerar, said to Isaac, "We saw certainly that Jehovah was with thee;" and, "thou art now the blessed of Jehovah," (chap. xxvi. 29). Jehovah is here recognised simply as the tutelary friend and protector of Isaac. The convictions of Abimelech, if he was the same person who was already mentioned in the history, or if otherwise,

as is more probable, his successor of the same name, appear to have taken the following course. When first introduced to the reader, the king of Gerar uses Adonai in addressing God, (xx. 4,) but subsequently in conversation with Abraham, whom he visited for a purpose similar to that which formed the subject of the present visit to Isaac, he used the name Elohim, (xxi. 22, 23,) but it is to be observed that in the interval Abraham had mentioned that term in his hearing, (xx. 13,) which may have led Abimelech to adopt it; so that it is easy to trace to a similar source the use of the name Jehovah by the Abimelech, whoever he may have been, who now visited Isaac.

But it is unnecessary to prosecute this inquiry further. The uncertainty which must attach to any attempt to explain in every instance the use of the one Divine name in preference to the other, whether in the Pentateuch or elsewhere, might be shown from the Book of Psalms, various portions of which are distinguished by the occurrence of the names Elohim and Jehovah, respectively, much in the same way as the Mosaic writings, and for determining the grounds of which, no conclusions can be drawn from the contents, while again, as a test of the diversity of authorship, than this usage nothing could be more fallacious.¹ There is thus at least afforded additional and independent evidence of the exceeding worthlessness of such a criterion when applied to the dismemberment of the Pentateuch. A similar diversity as to the use of the Divine names, though not to the same extent as in the Pentateuch and the Psalms is indeed met with throughout the Old Testament, but which no one ever thought of as characteristic of a diversity of authorship; and that such should be adopted in the case of the Mosaic writings only shews the extremely outward point of view from which the matter has been regarded.

¹ See Delitzsch, *Die Genesis*, p. 34; *Psalms*, E. T., iii., App. pp. xl.-xlvi. and compare Hengstenberg on the

SECT. III.—SUBSIDIARY ARGUMENTS OF THE DOCUMENT-HYPOTHESIS.

Drechsler, *Die Einheit u. Aechtheit*, pp. 212-270. Keil, *Einleitung*, § § 26, 27, pp. 85-108. Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T., ii. pp. 283-364.

Besides the chief argument founded on the interchange of the Divine names, there are others of a subordinate kind urged in proof of the want of literary unity in the Pentateuch, or of its being the work of several writers. First, there are various verbal and idiomatic expressions alleged to be peculiarities of the respective authors: Secondly, repeated accounts of the same act or incident with more or less variations; and Thirdly, contradictory statements.

§ 1. *Peculiarities of Style and Expression.*

The general allegations advanced on this point, such as that one of the writers of the Pentateuch is very diffuse as compared with the others, has a partiality for repetitions, and matters of a similar kind, are of a character so exceedingly vague, because so dependent on the particular taste of the reader, and the varied views and circumstances of the writer himself, and accordingly so incapable of being tried by any fixed standard, that they are of little moment in the controversy. The case is otherwise, it must be allowed, when the critics produce particular words and phrases employed in various parts of the work, and the use of which is, as they affirm, carefully avoided in other passages, and their place supplied by another set of expressions no less distinctive.

Numerous examples of this nature have been collected by De Wette, Tuch, and others, and the collection is further increased by Knobel. But just as in the argument already considered, so here also there are differences among the critics themselves as to the applicability of many of the expressions selected, and accordingly the number has recently been greatly reduced by Delitzsch.¹ As it will be unnecessary to examine such expressions as have been already rejected or disallowed

¹ *Die Genesis*, ii. 176, 177.

by such as uphold the view, that there are expressions nevertheless which indicate a diversity of authorship, attention may be confined to the reduced lists, particularly to that relative to Genesis, beyond which, it is useless to extend the investigation. This indeed gives the utmost advantage to the supporters of the Hypothesis, as Genesis is the portion regarding which they are most agreed.

Before entering, however, on this examination, it may be well, in order rightly to determine, if possible, the value assignable to the results which may be arrived at, to make one or two preliminary remarks :—First, it is evidently indispensable that the application of such tests be fairly carried out, that they be not subordinated to other considerations, or made on the contrary to overrule conflicting evidence of another kind. Their validity depends entirely on their absolute, and not on their relative application to any given case. One exception, even with regard to a particular usage, would go far to destroy its value as a test. Secondly, much depends on the possibility or otherwise of showing that the one class of expressions is synonymous with the other with which it is compared or contrasted, or that different sections of the work required, or even admitted, the use of expressions employed in other parts. Thus, for instance, the history of the creation, or of the Deluge, will necessarily present terms dissimilar to any that afterwards occur, and even a difference may be expected between the general narrative of creation, and that specially allotted to the formation of man ; and it would certainly seem a strange demand, to insist on a writer using expressions identical or similar, in entirely dissimilar circumstances. Nor is it at all a legitimate process, when in opposition to the alleged diversities of style, equally numerous examples of similarity are adduced, summarily to dispose of the latter on the assumption of an imitation on the part of the later writer. Thus Davidson, “ It is true that various characteristic peculiarities of diction appear in common in the Elohist and Jehovistic sections ; but surely the later may have imitated the earlier writer, or the written materials whence both drew belonged to the same times.”¹ This is undoubtedly begging the whole question at issue.

¹ Introduction to Old Testament, p. 613.

In considering the following expressions, said by Delitzsch to be characteristic of the ground-work of Genesis, references are given to other parts of the Pentateuch where the same occur; and such observations are added as may be necessary for estimating their true value.

(1.) **אֲחֻזָּה**, "a property" or "possession," chap. xvii. 8; and in the following combinations, **אֲחֻזָּה עוֹלָם**, "an everlasting possession, xlvi. 4; **נָתַן אֲחֻזָּה**, "to give a possession," xlvii. 11; **אֲחֻזַּת קֶבֶר**, "possession of a sepulchre," xlix. 30; l. 13; where there is a reference to xxiii. 4, 9, 20: **אֶרֶץ אֲחֻזָּתָם**, "the land of their possession," xxxvi. 43, in a section containing no divine name, but reckoned to the Elohist on account of the inscription, **דִּלְדֹלֹת עֵשָׂו**, "the generations of Esau." The term also occurs in Lev. xiv. 34; xxv. 10, f. xxvii. 16-21, f. 28; Num. xxvii. 4, 7; xxxii. 5; xxxv. 2, 8, 28. But entirely adverse to the theory is its use in Num. xxxii. 22, a passage which Stähelin,¹ on account of its reference to Num. xiii. 11-14, is obliged to assign to the Reviser.

(2.) **אֶרֶץ מְגֻרֵיהֶם**, "the land of (their) sojournings," Gen. xvii. 8; xxviii. 4; xxvi. 7; xxxvii. 1; (Ex. vi. 4,) according to Delitzsch, distinctly marked Elohist sections. **מְגֻרֵים**, Gen. xlvii. 9. This expression certainly does not occur in what is regarded as the work of the Reviser, but the idea of the pilgrim state of the patriarchs frequently does so, and is expressed by **נָגַד**, xii. 10, &c.

(3.) **לְדֹרוֹתֵיכֶם לְדֹרוֹתָם**, "according to your (and their) generations,"—expressions of frequent occurrence in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; but in Genesis only in chap. xvii. a most distinct Elohist section says Delitzsch. Also **לְדֹרוֹת עוֹלָם**, Gen. ix. 12, which he held to be of a similar character. It is to be observed, however, that all such expressions formed from **דָּוָר**, "a generation," can, according to the nature of the case, occur only in circumstances where anything is said to concern, or be binding on posterity, as prescribed or established. They are therefore to be expected in such sections only as treat of laws or institutions, and so are found in the middle books of the Pentateuch, and rarely, if at all, in purely historical pas-

¹ Kritische Untersuchungen üb. den Pentateuch, p. 39

sages. But as only two purely legislative sections, and these of very small compass, (Ex. xx.-xxiii.; xxiv. 11-26), have been allowed to the so-called second legislation, corresponding to the supplementary portions of Genesis, and as in the historical sections of that legislation no mention is made of ordinances obligatory on future Israelitish generations, it is not to be wondered that such expressions are wanting. But they are equally wanting in numerous other passages of the "first legislation," where they might confidently be expected, and where their absence is no less strange than in the other cases.

(4.) לְמִינוֹ always with לְ prefixed, and pronominal affix as לְמִינוֹ, "after its kind" or species, is found only in the history of the creation, Gen. i. 11, 12, 21, 24, 25, and of the flood, vi. 20, vii. 14, and in the Levitical precepts concerning food, Lev. xi., Deut. xiv.; and out of the Pentateuch only in Ezek. xlvii. 10. But the occurrence of the term in Deut. xiv. shows that it is not peculiar to the supposed original.

(5.) בַּעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, "in this very same day," Gen. vii. 13, xvii. 23, 26, elsewhere in Ex. xii. 17, 41, 51, Lev. xxiii. 14, 21, 28-30, Deut. xxxii. 48. It might be supposed that as the last of the passages referred to contains the name Jehovah, that circumstance would be of some account on the opposite side, but the section, Deut. xxxii. 48-52, notwithstanding the name Jehovah is pronounced Elohistic, because among other peculiarities it contains this expression and אֶתְּהָיָה already noticed. The expression elsewhere occurs only in the books of Joshua and Ezekiel.

(6.) פֵּדֶן אֲרָם, "the cultivated field of Aram," or "of the highlands,"¹ Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2-7; xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 9; xlv. 15; xlviii. 7. "How could it be accidental," asks Delitzsch, "that for this expression, there should, in the Jehovistic portion, always stand נְהָרִים אֲרָם?—the highlands of the two rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris—Mesopotamia of the Classics." If it could be established that these two names are synonymous, and of such frequent occurrence as to constitute them standing expressions of different writers, this would certainly prove

¹ Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 1092;—Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, p. 129. Lond. 1857.

of some service. The former expression is of frequent occurrence, but it may surprise the reader to learn, after the confident question of Delitzsch, and the use of the term "always," that the latter occurs only once in Genesis (xxiv. 10), and only once in Deuteronomy (xxiii. 5), and that in the former passage it is accompanied by the more definite expression, "the city of Nahor." But the two designations are not identical. Padan-Aram was merely a district of Mesopotamia¹—the plain wherein was situated Haran; once simply designated *Padan* (Gen. xlviii. 7). Also *Suleh-Aram*, "the cultivated field of Aram," (Hos. xii. 13.) Aram-Naharaim ("Aram of the two rivers.") was the region lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris. On the first reference (Gen. xxiv. 10) to the country which was subsequently to be the scene of so much of Jacob's history, the situation is particularly defined by annexing to the larger designation a specific locality; after which the reader is presumed to be so well acquainted with the place, that a single designation will suffice. In Deut. xxiii. 5, Padan-Aram could not be used, as though Balaam came from Mesopotamia it was not from Haran; being "brought from Aram, out of the mountains of the East," (Num. xxiii. 7.)

(7.) פָּרָה וְרָבָה chiefly in the form פָּרֹ וְרָבִי, "be fruitful and multiply," a formula of blessing, "very remarkably," says Delitzsch, "found only in Elohistie portions, Gen. i. 22, 28; viii. 17; ix. 1, 7; xxxv. 11; xlvii. 27; and also the Hiphil הִפָּרָה stands in general in an Elohistie connection, chap. xvii. 6, 20; xxviii. 3; xli. 52; xlviii. 4; Ex. i. 7; and Lev. xxvi. 9." This expression naturally occurs in such passages as relate to the history of the creation and of the flood; but it is not always used in the former of these narratives in cases where it might readily be expected. Thus in the blessing pronounced on the aquatic tribes it is employed, but in the blessing on the fowl, though a part of the same verse (22), the verb רָבָה only occurs. Moreover, the large number of passages above adduced will be considerably lessened by observing that Gen. viii. 17, and ix. 1, 7, contain a pointed reference to i. 28; xlviii. 4, to xxxv. 11, and Ex. i. 7, to Gen. xlvii. 27, which is

¹ See Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i., p. 463. Lond. 1858

admittedly Elohistie,¹ while the passage, Lev. xxvi. 9, which Delitzsch considers Elohistie, is by other critics ascribed to the later writer.²

(8.) הָקִים בְּרִית "to establish a covenant," Gen. vi. 18; ix. 9, 11; xvii. 7, 21; Ex. vi. 4. Instead of this, the later writer is alleged to use קָרַת בְּרִית "to cut a covenant," Gen. xv. 18; xxvi. 28—an expression which, however, it is admitted is found also in an Elohistie connection, Gen. xxi. 27, 32; xxxi. 44. But how little weight is due to these distinctions must be evident, first from the fact that הָקִים בְּרִית is one of many similar expressions admittedly belonging to this same writer, as נָתַן בְּרִית; this and the former being used ix. 11, 12, in the compass of two verses; xvii. 2, 7, 19, and also קָרַת בְּרִית, which, although considered a characteristic of the Jehovist, yet is only twice used in such a connection, whereas it occurs three times in what are regarded as Elohistie passages. But further, the two expressions denote quite different things: הָקִים ב' "to establish a covenant," that is to fulfil the engagements made in the covenant; so also נָתַן ב' (Gen. ix. 12; xvii. 2; Num. xxv. 12,) "to give a covenant," to fulfil the promises pledged in it; but קָרַת ב' is merely "to conclude a covenant," to enter by a solemn act into mutual engagements. Further הָקִים ב' is used only of covenants in which God is a party, probably because הָקִים points to their stability and perpetuity (בְּרִית עוֹלָם, Ezek. xvi. 60) by which they are distinguished from mere human covenants.¹

Less importance, continues Delitzsch, is to be attached to the fact that the expressions אֹת בְּרִית, "sign of the covenant," בְּרִית עוֹלָם, "covenant of eternity," everlasting covenant, and נָתַן בְּרִית, "to conclude a covenant," are found exclusively in Elohistie sections, (ix. 1-17; xvii.) This acknowledgement need occasion no surprise when it is remarked that the first of these expressions occurs altogether only three times; twice in reference to the rainbow, Gen. ix. 12, 13, and once to cir-

¹ Knobel on Lev. xxvi. 9, p. 575. Bleek.

² Parker's De Wette, ii. 118, and subsequently De Wette himself, (§ 152 p. 58. Kurtz, Die Einheit der Genesis, p. 184) after Ewald, Lengerke, and

cumcision, xvii. 11, while the term **אֹת**, signifying a mark or sign given by God, occurs frequently in what is ascribed to the Reviser, Gen. iv. 15; xxiv. 12, ff., Exod. iii. 12; iv. 1, ff., while the second expression occurs in Gen. ix. 16; xvii. 7, 9, 12; Exod. xxi. 16; Lev. xxxi. 13-16, in reference to institutions peculiarly theocratic. Delitzsch also excludes, contrary to the earlier critics, from the list of expressions peculiar to the Elohist, **נָקַר וַיִּקְרָה**, because of its occurrence in vii. 3, although not without reference to the original document, and likewise, **שָׁרָן** and **שָׁרָן**, although, till Exod. vi., they are found only in Elohist portions; yet **שָׁרָן**, as he admits, stands in a Jehovistic context in Exod. vii. 28. Nor are the expressions **לָחַק** and **לְחַקַּת עוֹלָם**, to be any longer reckoned as tests in this matter, for the former is found only in Gen. xlvii. 26, and the latter does not occur before Exod. vi.; nor **אֵלֶּה תִּלְדוּת**, because, although generally of an Elohist character, it stands at the head of the section distinguished by the designation Jehovah-Elohim.

Such, on the admission of the latest advocate of the theory, is the greatly diminished array of words and phrases adduced to prove that more than one writer had part in the composition of Genesis, and it is of importance to consider how the number has been so far reduced. This is due to the careful investigation to which the whole matter has been submitted, the result of which is that many of the criteria on which at first confidence had been reposed, were found utterly to fail; nor is it too much to conclude, that through further examination the number will be still more diminished. Even as it is, the admissions already made go far to qualify the importance of the expressions on which the opponents of the unity of the Pentateuch are still disposed to rely.

Meanwhile, the result of the preceding remarks may be thus summed up. Of the eight terms alleged to be characteristic of the Elohist, not one of them is in the least conclusive; first, because not so constant and frequent as to form a distinct peculiarity, some being found only in one or two passages, or in different senses, as the word **אָחִיזָה**, which is also interchanged with **מוֹרֶשֶׁה**, (Exod. vi. 8, comp. with Gen. xvii. 8; xlviii. 4). Further, there are in the other document no cor-

responding terms with which these may be contrasted. The only instances of this sort alleged, are the two names of Mesopotamia, and the expressions relative to the ratification of covenants, but which have been shown to be expressive of different and not identical ideas.

But again, it is to be observed that various considerations serve to explain why particular expressions should repeatedly occur in the Elohistic sections and not in the others. First, according to the law of chances, any number of words selected from a literary production will recur at certain intervals, and in certain connections, regulated by the nature of the subject and the number of the words selected. This recurrence will, secondly, be greatly increased if the document has been subjected to an artificial process of division or distribution, as is done in the present case, and in accordance with a rule which first arranges the constituent parts of the Pentateuch according to the Divine names, and next, with regard to peculiarities of style and expression, but in such a way that when the one arrangement does not coincide with the other, the most violent means are resorted to, in order to effect a conciliation. And again, that particular expressions should occur, or be more frequent in the Elohistic portions, is explained by the fact that some of those sections treat of times and transactions to which there is nothing corresponding in subsequent periods of the history. A striking example is the expression *הָאָסַף אֶל-עַמּוּוֹ*, "gathered to his people," used in connexion with the death of the patriarchs and other noted personages of the Pentateuch, (Gen. xxv. 8, 17; xxv. 29; xlix. 29, 33; Num. xx. 24, 26; xxvii. 13; Deut. xxxii. 15,) and which, from the assumption that the original contained complete notices of such, including, of course, their death, must necessarily be confined to the Elohist for whom it is claimed. Finally, compared with the whole number of words and phrases in a history so extended and varied as that of Genesis, the fact that eight expressions can be selected, presenting some peculiarities in their usage is nowise surprising. On the contrary, the only wonder is that they are not more numerous and perplexing, taking into account all the circumstances of the case.

§ 2. *Repeated Accounts of the same Transactions.*

In further support of the view, which considers the Pentateuch to be the work of several more or less independent writers, various instances are alleged where the same matter is narrated more than once, sometimes so variously as to assign it to different times, and even persons. The first of this kind is the history of the creation. The second, or supplementary narrative, in Gen. ii. 4-25, varies, it is maintained, so widely from the first, as to present not a few contradictions,—a statement which rests entirely on false assumptions as to the order in which events are narrated in the respective sections. But, admitting that this second narrative differs in style, structure, and contents from the first, that is no evidence that they are two different and distinct accounts of creation, or independent productions. The first is a narrative of creation, properly so called,—a comprehensive, continuous, and entire outline of creation, in its several parts and proportions. The second is a filling up of one of the compartments of that outline, and so presents details which could not have been introduced into the first without marring its plan and symmetry, and yet could not be omitted without prejudice to the whole subsequent history, particularly to the narrative of the fall; between which and Gen. ii. there is, by universal consent, an inseparable connexion. The two accounts of creation are so far distinct, that the one refers to the origination of the universe, and the earth in particular, with its inhabitants, the other chiefly to the origination of the first human pair, and yet there is a mutual dependence, while both are indispensable for a correct acquaintance with man's place in the universe, and his moral and religious history.

Another particular regarded as indicative of the same facts being viewed in two distinct lights, is the analogy observable between the names of the Cainites and Sethites (Gen. iv. 17-22; v. 3-29). Buttmann¹ asserted that the two genealogical registers were originally identical,—a view eagerly embraced by Tuch and Ewald.² It must be admitted that, at first sight, the similarity is striking; but the assumed identity is suffi-

¹ Mythologus, vol. i., p. 171. Berlin, 1828.

² Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i., p. 355.

ciently precluded by the fact of the different arrangement of the names in the two cases, and of the omission in the one list of several names which are found in the other. Buttmann himself admits the great radical difference of many of the names. Hävernicks accounts for the similarity from the small number of names in use in primeval times ; But Baumgarten suggests that the Sethites meant, by the adoption of the same names as the Cainites, to denote that they occupied the place of the elder but rejected line. However this may be, the similarity is not a sufficient basis for the theory of Buttmann.

The incident stated, in Gen. xii. 14-20, to have occurred on Abraham's visit to Egypt, whereby Sarah was brought into imminent danger, is frequently adduced as a notable instance of transactions variously reported. "This narrative," says Von Bohlen, "contains an adventure, on which the popular legends dwelt with great delight, since, with a change of persons, it is recorded not less than three times." Vater, too, remarks : "Most probably it is the same fact presented by the variations of tradition in three different forms ;"¹ the first being this occurrence in Egypt, the second a like incident to Sarah in Gerar, and the third, the danger which threatened Rebekah in that same locality. (Comp. Gen. xx. and xxvi.) But the wide diversities of time and place, with other circumstances, and the consequences in each case so minutely detailed, and yet so different, fully refute the allegation of the identity of the adventure thus variously recorded. The only point in common is the circumstance, that a wife was the subject with regard to which danger was apprehended ; and this is so consonant to Oriental manners and relations, that there can be no difficulty in regarding the incident as one of frequent occurrence. And, on the other hand, the transaction assuredly was one which the national legends could not have regarded with complacency ; for the moral weakness which Abraham in particular is represented as exhibiting was anything but creditable ; and the matter would most likely have been passed over by a less scrupulously faithful narrator of the patriarchal history. Jehovah was honoured, no doubt, by such a record, as it showed that he allowed not his promises to fail ; and this must be considered the object for recording such transactions.

¹ Abhandlung üb. die Verfasser, § 19 in Com., vol. iii., p. 430.

Another incident in the life of Abraham, with which it is attempted to identify a similar transaction, wherein Isaac was a party, is the covenant made with Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. xxi. 22-34, compared with xxvi. 26-33); Abimelech and his captain Phicol acting in both transactions. The similarity of the two cases was as evident, it may be presumed, to the author of Genesis, as to the modern critics who impugn his judgment or veracity. Indeed, the actors in the second transaction seem to be introduced with a reference to what happened on the earlier occasion. On Isaac's visit to Gerar, he adopted the same expedient as his father for the protection of his wife, confiding, it would appear, in its previous success. Further, Abimelech is already acquainted with Isaac through Abraham, and knows that Jehovah is with this family. It is a question, however, whether Abimelech and Phicol—for the names may be merely titular distinctions—be the same persons who had engaged in a similar transaction with Abraham, at least eighty years before. The time which elapsed does not exclude the possibility of its being the same; particularly, as the narrative bears that it was "the people of the place" who desired Isaac's wife, and not Abimelech himself, it is hence concluded, now grown old.¹ As to the supposed discrepancy in the origin of the name Beer-sheba, Gen. xxvi. 23 assumes the previous existence of this name; and ver. 15 states that Isaac restored their old names to the wells dug by Abraham, but subsequently stopped by the Philistines. Further, the covenant concluded by oath with Abimelech gave a new occasion for this particular name, "the well of the oath."

Further, Ex. xvii. 1-7, and Num. xx. 1-13, are declared to be only different versions of the same event, assigned by tradition to separate localities. Not only the cause of Israel's murmurings, the want of water, and the manner in which it was supplied from a rock, but also, it is maintained, the names given to the localities, are the same in the two cases. This last assertion is, however, founded on a misapprehension of Num. xx. 13—"This is the *water of strife*, (מֵי מְרִיבָה,) because the children of Israel strove (רָבּוּ) with the Lord." There is here a designed reference to the former occurrence, in order

² Hävernicks, Einleitung, I. ii., § 124. Keil's ed., p. 294.

to mark the unbelief of the people; but the locality is not, as in the other case, named Meribah. Elsewhere it is spoken of as "the water of strife in Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin," (Num. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51)—the definite geographical description being with the view of distinguishing it from the scene of the former event. Besides, in the second transaction there is the peculiarity of Moses' own unbelief, and other notices, as in ver. 9—"Moses took the rod from before the Lord (מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה) as he commanded him," shewing that by this time the tabernacle had been erected—a circumstance which of itself clearly proves that this affair belongs to a much later period than the other.¹

Such are the most important examples of what the advocates of the Document-hypothesis regard as variations of the same traditions received by the several authors, by whom they were committed to writing, or incorporated into the Pentateuch. How far they bear this character it is unnecessary to say, after the preceding remarks.

§ 3. *Alleged Contradictions of the Pentateuch.*

In the attacks on the unity of the Pentateuch, a place relatively higher than that occupied by the preceding allegations may be claimed for the contradictions which are said to belong to many of its statements, compared with one another. These objections admit, at least, of being presented in a more specious light than the others. This is particularly true of chronological contradictions, and such are many of the kind adduced; for, by a dexterous manipulation of figures in a narrative so simple as that of the Pentateuch, and which depends so largely on relative dates, and not on the fixed standards of the scientific chronologer, it is the easiest thing imaginable to evoke contradictions, the fallacy of which it would require the closest scrutiny to detect. It may, however, be remarked, that if contradictions do actually exist of the gross character alleged, they furnish arguments in favour only of the "Fragment-Hypothesis" of Vater, now acknowledged on all hands to be untenable, and are in direct opposition

¹ Ranke, *Untersuchungen*, ii., 227 ff. Hengstenberg, *Authentie*, ii. 378 ff. E. T., ii. 310-314.

to, nay more, destructive of, the "Complement-Hypothesis" of Tuch; for it is incredible that such contradictions, if they have any existence, should have escaped the notice of the Reviser, seeing they are so palpable to modern critics.

The contradictions alleged are so numerous, concern matters of so trivial a character, and embrace so little of any general principles, that it is difficult to make a selection, and more so, to arrange them under any definite heads. A few of the more important only need be adduced.

The first case of importance is the variation in the names of Esau's wives, (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 3, compared with xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9,) presenting, according to Tuch, a contradiction which no explanation can reconcile, notwithstanding that both he and Stähelin assign all these passages to the original author. In the opinion of Kalisch, also, the Hebrew text here embodies two accounts irreconcilably different.¹ According to chap. xxxvi. 2, 3, Esau's wives were—1. Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; 2. Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, [and grand-] daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; 3. Basemath, the daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebajoth. But in the other passages their names are—1. Judith, the daughter of Beeri, the Hittite; 2. Basemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; 3. Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebajoth. With the exception of Anah and Beeri, the names of the fathers are identical in the two lists; and that Anah and Beeri were only different designations of the same person appears from an incident in his history. "This is that Anah that found *the warm springs* (מַיִם חַיִּים) in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father," (xxxvi. 24)—a discovery to which, doubtless, may be referred his designation Beeri, בְּאֵרִי, "the man of the springs."² The circumstance that he is variously styled a Hivite, (xxxvi. 2,) a Horite, (ver. 20,) and a Hittite, (xxvi. 34,) may be explained partly on the ground that the term Hittite was often applied to the Canaanites in general, (Josh. i. 4); while the term Horite, again, designated the inhabitants of Mount Seir, from their mode of life as Troglodytes, or dwellers in caves, and not from the race to which

¹ Hist. and Crit. Com. on Genesis, p. 594.

² Hengstenberg, Authentic. E. T. ii. 223. Kurtz, Geschichte, i. 237.

they belonged, which appears, from the notice now under consideration, to have been the Hittite. Indeed, there is thus a confirmation both of the history and the genealogy. In the former, where the stress is laid on Esau's wife being of a Canaanitish race, her father is designated a Hittite; while in the other, where the object is to shew Esau's connexion by marriage with the occupants of Seir, he is described as a Horite, being in that case the more precise term.¹ The variation in the names of the wives themselves is easily accounted for, from the frequent change anciently in Eastern female names, particularly on their marriage; only it is remarkable that the name Basemath, which on this supposition was dropped by one, should be adopted by another.

Several statements in the history of Jacob are also pronounced contradictory. First, Von Bohlen attempts to shew that Joseph must have been upwards of sixty years old when brought down to Egypt, in opposition to the express statement that he was only a youth of seventeen at the time. But the contradiction rests only on the false assumption of the objector, that Jacob must have gone to Mesopotamia, immediately after the marriage of Esau, when both the brothers were forty, (xxvi. 34). But putting together the whole data furnished in Genesis, the only evidence in the case, and the only admissible procedure, it can on the contrary be distinctly shown that Jacob was seventy-seven when he left home. Thus Joseph was thirty years old when presented to Pharaoh, (xli. 46,) Jacob's removal to Egypt was nine years after this, for seven years of plenty and two of famine had passed. Joseph was therefore thirty-nine years old, and as Jacob was 130, (xlvii. 9;) he must have been ninety-one at the birth of Joseph, and taking this to have been in the fourteenth year of his residence with Laban, he must have been seventy-seven when he set out for Mesopotamia.²

A more important question arises from Gen. xxxviii., which is held to narrate matters which could not have been comprehended in the interval, twenty-two years, (comp. xxxvii. 2, with xlv. 6.) which elapsed between the point of time there

¹ Smith's Dict. of Bible, Art. *Beer*, ² Brown, *Ordo Sæclorum*, § 290, p. 310. vol. i., p. 179.

indicated and Jacob's removal to Egypt, particularly as Pharez also had two sons, (xlv. 12.) These difficulties are of long standing, as old at least as the time of Augustin. Ilgen, De Wette, and Von Bohlen, have strongly urged them in opposing the genuineness of the Pentateuch, without being aware, as Hengstenberg notices, of the solution given by the older critics, Patavius, Heidegger, and Venema. "Everything," continues Hengstenberg, "turns on this point,—whether in the belief of the author, the individuals named in Gen. xlv. 8, ff., all went down into Egypt, or whether part of them were born there. For, as to what concerns Judah's family, all that is narrated in chap. xxxviii. might very possibly take place in the space of twenty-two years, and the only difficulty is, that, according to chap. xlv., the two sons of Pharez, Hezron and Hamul, appear to have been born when Jacob and his family went down to Egypt; and the assertion that Benjamin at that time had also ten sons, is founded entirely on this genealogy."¹

That this genealogy includes some who were born in Egypt appears from the following considerations: 1. At the time of the second journey to Egypt, Reuben had only *two* sons, (xli. 37,) but in xlv. 9, *four* are enumerated. 2. The representation of Benjamin as a youth is so constant, (xlii. 8; xlv. 30, ff., where he is called הַנֶּעַר,) that it could not enter the thoughts of the author of the genealogy, that on his going down to Egypt he had ten sons. 3. It is indicated, ver. 12, that Hezron and Hamul were a compensation for Er and Onan, and apparently, that they were not born in Canaan. 4. In Num. xxvi., not a single grandson of Jacob is mentioned besides those whose names are given here.

But on the other hand, there is the express declaration, ver. 26, "All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were three-score and six." That this, however, is not opposed to the view now stated, appears from the next verse, where Joseph's sons born in Egypt are included in the seventy which "came into Egypt," and so Deut. x. 22, "Thy fathers went down into Egypt with (בְּ in,) three-score and ten per-

¹ Authentie, E. T., ii., 290.

sons," Joseph's sons at all events were considered as having come down to Egypt in their father.

The charge of inconsistencies brought by Ilgen, Gramberg, and De Wette, against Gen. xxxvii., which narrates how Joseph passed into the hands of the Ishmaelites who carried him down to Egypt, though pronounced utterly unfounded even by Tuch, has been revived by Knobel¹ and Hupfeld,² with the view of showing how two distinct accounts have been blended into the present narrative, and so Davidson concludes, "a twofold tradition seems to have been worked up by the Jehovist."³ According to the one narrative, Joseph's brothers cast him into a pit in order afterwards to kill him, but on Judah's suggestion, sold him to a company of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead, (ver. 23-27, 28*b*.), but the other story would have it, as these objectors allege, that when the brothers first saw him they purposed to kill him immediately, but being otherwise advised by Reuben, they cast him into a pit to die, whence, however, he was stolen by Midianitish merchants who brought him down to Egypt, (ver. 28*a*., 36.) This very artificial scheme, which so wantonly dislocates ver. 28, and produces the most glaring contradiction between chap. xxxvii. 36, and xxxix. 1, and such as could not have escaped the most careless compiler, has no foundation, save that the parties are promiscuously designated Ishmaelites and Midianites, a circumstance which, whether referable to the mixed character of the caravan,⁴ some common relation between the two tribes,⁵ (Jud. vii. 12; viii. 22, 24), or whether it is to be explained on the supposition founded on this and other reasons, that the name Ishmaelites is here equivalent to Arabians,⁶ or even admitting it to be inexplicable, certainly affords no ground for so preposterous a theory. Nor does Joseph's own intimation, (Gen. xl. 15,) that he was *stolen* from the land of the Hebrews give it, as alleged, any support, for that only refers to the unlawful manner in which he was deprived of liberty.

Some confusion is also discerned, by the critics of the

¹ Genesis, erklärt, p. 263.

² Die Quellen der Genesis, p. 67.

³ Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 598.

⁴ Le Clerc, Com. in Genesin, p. 242.

⁵ Rosenmüller, Scholia i., 573. Lips. 1821.

⁶ Drechsler, Die Einheit, p. 253. So Kalisch, Genesis, p. 612. Keil, Einleitung, § 26, p. 87.

Document-hypothesis, between Gen. xxxix. 20-23, and xl. 4, leading, they say, to the supposition that, besides the "captain of the guard," who was Joseph's master, there was another, who held the additional office of "keeper of the prison," and who shewed favour to Joseph. This arises, according to Tuch, from a mistake of the Reviser, who, ignorant of the true office of Potiphar, and the relation which Joseph still maintained to him as his servant in the state prison, which formed a part of the house of the captain of the guard, (xl. 3,) introduced the clause, "the keeper of the prison," (xxxix. 21.) But any difficulty in the case is due entirely to a misapprehension on the part of the critics themselves in their identifying, contrary to the plain import of the passage, the subordinate officer¹ שַׂר הַפְּתָחִים with שַׂר בֵּית־הַסֹּפֶר, who was Potiphar himself. And it is perfectly conceivable how, in the case of the two high officials committed to prison, (xl. 1-3,) Potiphar should concern himself, nor leave the matter entirely to his subordinate, (ver. 4). His charging Joseph with the care of them need not be viewed as proceeding from special favour to him, but only from regard to the comfort of the prisoners. It was from the "keeper of the prison" that Joseph received any favour, (ver. 21-23.)

Any discrepancy between the account by the brothers of their discovering their money at the inn, made to Joseph's steward, (xliii. 21,) and the previous statements, that only one of them discovered his money there, and the others not until their arrival at home (xlii. 27, 33,) is not attributable to the author of Genesis, whose sole responsibility in the case was faithfully to report the representations given; but even as regards the speakers themselves, there is no positive contradiction. All they desired was to relate the occurrence as briefly as possible, deeming it quite a subordinate matter *where* the money was found; the only thing of importance being the *fact* of the discovery. This is admitted even by Tuch and Knobel.

So much for the alleged contradictions in Genesis. Some notice must, however, be taken of such as are said to be contained in the middle books of the Pentateuch, the chief points

¹ Kurtz, Einheit, p. 191. Geschichte, i. 282.

of difference between which and Deuteronomy have been already considered.¹

The name of Moses' father-in-law (חֹתֵן) is variously given as Jethro (יֶתְרוֹ, Exod. iii. 1, xviii.; יֶתֶר, iv. 18) and Raguel, (רַעֲוִאל, ii. 18, 21,) while in Num. x. 29, the person represented as standing to Moses in the relation of חֹתֵן is named "Hobab, the son of Raguel, the Midianite." No doubt this passage in itself is somewhat ambiguous, for although in most of the ancient versions the words, "the father-in-law of Moses," are connected with Hobab, the original will admit equally of their being applied to the father; but this, again, would seem to be precluded by Judg. iv. 11. The difficulties thus presented have long engaged the attention of commentators, and, as might be expected, have not escaped the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, who unhesitatingly refer them to contradictory genealogies. It is, however, concluded by Kurtz² and others, from the term Jethro also occurring, that Jethro, which means "his excellency," was the official designation of the prince or priest of Midian, and that either of the others must be his proper name. Further, there is little difficulty in identifying the Jethro of Ex. iii. 1, xviii., with Raguel of Ex. ii. 18, rather than with Hobab of Num. x. 29. But a more difficult question which remains to be determined is, whether Raguel was the father or grandfather of Zipporah, and so whether Hobab was brother-in-law or father-in-law to Moses. In other words, assuming that the terms אב and חֹתֵן, as is well known with regard to the first at least, are used with considerable latitude, the question is, which of them is to be so extended; whether אב in Ex. ii. 18 means "grandfather," or if חֹתֵן, like γαμβρός, by which the LXX. render it, can apply to a "brother-in law." The latter is the view of Ranke,³ and is at least the more probable solution of the difficulty. So much is certain, that up to the time marked in Ex. xviii., Raguel was the chief of his tribe; while the way in which Hobab is genealogically introduced in Num. x. 29, may have been perhaps intended to designate him as having now succeeded his father.

¹ Book I., ch. ii., sect. v. § 2. p. 113,

³ Untersuchungen, vol. ii. p. 8.

² Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 53,

Several particulars connected with the Divine commission given to Moses for the deliverance of his brethren from Egypt, present to Knobel such discrepancies as should have led him, it might naturally be supposed, to suspect the soundness of his own theory, or at least his distribution of the narratives, instead of referring them to the contradictory accounts of writers so related as his scheme assumes. A bare statement some of these discrepancies will itself shew that they have no reality, and be at the same time a refutation of the system to which alone they owe their origin.

(1.) The place where God first appeared to Moses is said to be variously stated. According to the original narrator, it was Egypt (Ex. vi. 2); God made himself known to him as Jehovah, this being the first intimation of that name. Another places the scene at Horeb (iii. 2), on which occasion God appeared as the God of the patriarchs (ver. 6), and declared his name Jehovah (ver. 14), while a third account makes Midian the scene of communication (iv. 19).¹ These statements require no refutation. It need only be remarked, that the name Jehovah, in chap. vi. 2, necessarily presupposes the explanation given of it in chap. iii. 14.

(2.) Moses' abode in Midian, or his connexion with Jethro, was, it is affirmed by the same author, quite unknown to the older writer, while his statement that Moses was eighty years old when he appeared before Pharaoh (Ex. vii. 7), is irreconcilable with the supplementary narrative, which represents him as a young man (ii. 11) at the time of his flight from Egypt, and yet a son by Zipporah, whom he married *probably* on his arrival in Midian, is represented as young when he returned to Egypt (iv. 20, 25; xviii. 2).² There can be no question that, from Moses' leaving Egypt to his return thither, a considerable time elapsed. It is stated in Ex. ii. 23 as "many days," and by Stephen (Acts vii. 30) as forty years. But there is no necessity for supposing that his abode in Midian extended over the whole of that period—it may have been only the end of his *wanderings*, as may be implied in the expression וישב, "*sat down, settled in the land of Midian;*" or, if otherwise, that his marriage followed imme-

¹ Knobel, Exodus u. Leviticus erklärt, ² Ibid., pp. 22, 20.

pp. 31, 36.

diately on his arrival, or that there might not have been a considerable interval between the birth of his two sons. The silence of this part of the narrative regarding the birth of the second son may possibly be referable to the long separation between it and the prior birth; but, with far more probability is this indicated in the feelings of Moses himself on the two occasions, as expressed in the names of his sons, Gershom and Eliezer, the former forcibly giving utterance to the thoughts of the exile: "I am a stranger in a strange land" (ii. 22), and the latter his deliverance from Pharaoh: "for the God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh" (xviii. 4). The order of these names has sometimes perplexed expositors, who conceive that the first thoughts of the fugitive would naturally be thankfulness for his safety, and that only afterwards these would give way to the feelings of exile. But a very simple explanation of the circumstance is found in the supposition, that the name Eliezer was bestowed in connection with the Divine communications respecting Moses' return to Egypt, particularly the intimation: "And the Lord said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life" (iv. 19).

(3.) Of the demands to be made on Pharaoh various statements, it is alleged, are given. The earlier writer made it to be the complete deliverance of Israel (Ex. vi. 11; vii. 2, &c.), while in the later narrative it was only a request to be permitted to go a journey of three days into the wilderness to sacrifice (iii. 18; v. 1-3). But the mere fact, that the historian shows that Israel's complete and final deliverance was intended, and that this preliminary request was preferred to Pharaoh for the mere purpose of testing his disposition (iii. 17-20), as it was to be made in the full conviction that it would be refused, removes every appearance of contradiction between it and the full demand. Nor was there, as frequently alleged, any deception practised on Pharaoh. This could only be said if Pharaoh had yielded to these terms, and the Israelites, having set out on these conditions, did not return as stipulated. After the first absolute refusal by Pharaoh, no terms were again submitted to him.

(4.) The reception which Moses met from his brethren

¹ Knobel, *Exod u. Lev. erklärt*, p. 21.

when he announced to them his commission, was, according to one account, very discouraging: "They hearkened not unto Moses for anguish, and for cruel bondage" (vi. 9); whereas the other narrator describes it as quite the reverse: "The people believed: and when they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped" (iv. 31). De Wette¹ calls this "a striking contradiction;" but it is only such when the intermediate section (v. 19-23), which fully accounts for the change which had taken place in the interval with respect to the position and prospects of the Israelites, is violently ejected from the narrative, as is done by these critics,—a process, it may be remarked, fitted to produce disorder and contradictions in any composition.

Notice must also be taken of some alleged contradictions connected with the passover, particularly as to the time of its institution. It is urged by Hitzig, that according to some statements, (Exod. xii. 6, 17; Lev. xxiii. 5,) the departure from Egypt, and the observance of the passover, are to be referred to the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month, while others make the Passover to fall on the new moon of the first month. This latter assumption rests entirely on a misapprehension,—taking בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב, Exod. xxxiv., as meaning, "on the new moon of Abib," instead of, "in the month of Abib." This is plain from the passage itself: a feast extending to seven days might be assigned to the month, but not to the day. But the reference from this passage to Exod. xii. 15; xiii. 6, which contain the fundamental law on the subject, will show that no mention is here made of a specific day—such being unnecessary, as already fully understood. So also with the other passages adduced, Deut. xvi. 1; Exod. xiii. 4, which, as Hengstenberg satisfactorily shows, give no countenance to the alleged contradiction. The term חֹדֶשׁ, he states, in the Pentateuch never means *new moon*, but always *month*. New moons are רָאִשֵׁי חֳדָשִׁים, comp. Num. x. 10; xxviii. 11. And if in any of the passages adduced, there be ambiguity, or indefiniteness with respect to the actual day for the celebration of the Passover, it is simply owing to the circumstance

¹ Einleitung, § 151, p. 181.

that in the fundamental passage it was so expressly defined, that there was no need of a continual specification of it.¹

It has also been maintained by Hitzig, that the feast of the Passover, and that of Unleavened Bread, were originally distinct, (Exod. xxiii.) and that the latter originated in a circumstance connected with the hasty departure from Egypt, (Exod. xii. 37-42,) and that its continuance for seven days is not in accordance with the tenor of the narrative, and further, that the Passover was unknown to the writer of Exod. xxiii. and xxxiv. To these allegations it is sufficient to reply with Hengstenberg, that although in these two chapters the feast is not called the Passover, but only the feast of Unleavened Bread, yet, as in xxxiv. 18, 19, the command respecting the redemption of the first-born is added to that respecting the feast specified, this shows that it was certainly the Passover, and was not regarded merely as a feast of Unleavened Bread. But ver. 25 is still more express, so also, xxiii. 18, to the effect that the blood of the sacrifice was not to be offered with leaven, comp. xii. 15, 20; and that nothing was to remain until the morning, comp. xii. 10. In these chapters the whole seven days' feast required to be designated, and therefore the name, "the feast of Unleavened Bread;" for the designation "Passover," is used only of the Paschal sacrifice and feast, and is never applied to the whole feast.

But further, there is no ground whatever for holding that the eating of Unleavened Bread was originally limited to one meal, but was afterwards extended to seven days. Wherever it is mentioned, it is invariably as extending to seven days; nor can its institution be referred to the fact mentioned in Exod. xii. 37-42, but must be connected with the Passover, which is always comprehended under the feast of Unleavened Bread.

The Levite's age of service has been long a matter of difficulty; Num. iv. seeming to intimate that they entered on their service at the age of thirty; while it is stated in chap. viii. 24, "This is it that belongeth unto the Levites: from twenty and five years old and upwards they shall go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the congregation." Various explanations of this difficulty have been proposed, but the

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentic* ii. 359, ff., E. T., ii. 295, ff.

most satisfactory is that of Hengstenberg,¹ who, with Aben-Ezra, Lightfoot, Reland, and Outram, takes chap. iv. to relate solely to the service of the Levites at the tabernacle of the congregation, to carrying it during the time it should be moved about; while the ordinance in chap. viii. 24, had, on the contrary, respect to their service in the tabernacle. For the first service the greatest bodily vigour was requisite; hence the greater age. This plainly appears from an examination of the several duties prescribed in the respective chapters. In the one case, "the service," עֲבֹדָה of the Levites began בְּנִסְעַת הַמַּחֲנֶה on the setting forward of the camp, (ver. 5,) and consisted in transporting the various parts of the tabernacle and its furniture, (ver. 15, 19, 25, 27, 31, 32, 47, 49); while, in the other, the service assigned to them was "to execute the service of the Lord," לַעֲבֹד אֶת־עֲבֹדַת יְהוָה, (viii. 11,) "before Aaron and before his sons," (ver. 22,) that is, the special Levitical functions that pertained to the tabernacle service, and which were performed under the direct superintendence of the priests, and quite distinct from the work of portage.

The account of the insurrection of Korah and his confederates, Num. xvi. presents, according to Stähelin² and De Wette,³ a combination of two distinct transactions. The original document, which consisted of ver. 2, 4-11, 16-23, 35-40, related only to the rebellion of Korah, and his destruction; to this the later author added the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram. In proof of the mixed character of the composition and its consequent confusion, reference is made to the contradictions between ver. 19, according to which the rebels were gathered before the tabernacle, and ver. 24, 27, where they are represented before their own tent; and between ver. 33, which relates that the children of Korah and all their possessions were swallowed up by the earth, and xxvi. 11, where it is expressly stated that they did not perish.

If any proof were needed of the fallacy of this distribution of the narrative, it can be found in the reference in ver. 5, "The Lord will show who are his, and who is *holy*;" to ver.

¹ Authentie, ii. 392. E. T. ii. 321.
See however, Bähr, Symbolik des Mo-
saischen Cultus, ii. 41. Heidel. 1839.

² Kritische Untersuchungen, p. 33.

³ Einleitung, § 153, p. 186.

3, which forms the transition to ver. 4, and which assumes that parties belonging to the other tribes took part with Korah, since the plea urged was "the whole congregation is holy." But should this reference even be treated as an interpolation, there are subsequent passages of the so-called original document, as Num. xvii. 1-12; xviii. 4, 5, 22, which show the participation of the other tribes in the rebellion, and confirm the statement in chap. xvi. 1, 2, that besides the Levite Korah, the Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, were leaders in the insurrection, as is also repeated in chap. xxvi. 9, 10, which, however, is by the same critics, and no doubt on that very account, ascribed to the later author. Further, the alleged contradictions are mere fictions; for the fact, that Korah, with a censer and incense was before the tabernacle is only opposed to another statement of his being before his own dwelling, when critics like Stähelin unwarrantably introduce into the text the word "contemporaneously." Nor does the fact, that Korah was swallowed up with Dathan and Abiram, (ver. 32,) in the least contradict ver. 35, 39, 40, as according to these verses only the 250 adherents of Korah were consumed by fire, while ver. 40, which mentions the destruction of Korah, does not specify the manner of it. Nor finally, is there any contradiction between xvi. 33, and xxvi. 11, for there is no intimation whatever in the former chapter that Korah's sons,—there is no reason to suppose that they were children,—took part in their father's rebellion, or perished in his destruction. The expression in ver. 32, "All the men that appertained to Korah, (אֲשֶׁר לְ) means, all who adhered to him, or formed his party, and has no reference to his family. That Korah's family did not perish, is indeed implied in ver. 27, which expressly stating that "Dathan and Abiram came out and stood in the door of their tents; and their wives, and their sons, and their little children," is yet entirely silent as to the sons of Korah, thus plainly indicating some distinction in the fate of the households of the leaders in this insurrection.¹

Another assertion of De Wette's, is that Num. xxxi. 8-16, gives a view of Balaam quite different from that contained in chap. xxii.-xxiv. The former passage narrates, that Balaam

¹ Keil, Einleitung, § 26, p. 94. Kurtz, Geschichte, ii. 396.

was slain by the Israelites in their war with the Midianites, when vengeance was inflicted on the latter for the injuries they had done to the Israelites through the counsel of Balaam. (See also for Balaam's death, Josh. xiii. 22.) Whereas it is maintained, that the other narrative presents the prophet throughout, as exhibiting a friendly aspect to the Israelites, and moreover states, xxiv. 25, "And Balaam rose up and returned to his place; and Balak also went his way." For removing the difficulty, it is not at all necessary to suppose, with some, that after his return home, Balaam made a second journey to the Midianites, for this passage by no means implies that he did reach home. **שׁוּב** simply means "to turn from," or "back," and **וַיָּשׁוּב לְמִקְוֵמוֹ**, "turned towards his place," set out on his homeward journey, as proposed, ver. 14; but how far he proceeded is nowhere intimated.¹ It is important, however, to notice the place where Baalam next appears. It is not among the Moabites, for he and Balak, King of Moab, parted in mutual dissatisfaction, but among the Midianites, who, conjointly with the Moabites, had invited him at first, xxii. 7, and with whom, as appears from the narrative, he had not yet communication; and so, when dismissed by the Moabites, he would not return home until he had paid his visit to the Midianites, who were equally concerned in bringing him thither. After his repeated but ineffectual efforts to comply with Balak's wishes to curse Israel, and in consequence of which, notwithstanding the many tempting promises made to him, he must depart unrewarded and unhonoured, (xxiv. 11,) it is easy to conceive the bitterness of his disappointment, and how readily he would turn to the only remaining quarter where he could look for any recompense, and where by indirect action on the Israelites, he might accomplish what he had been restrained from doing directly.

¹ Hengstenberg, *Geschichte Bileams*, Edin. 1848. Kurtz, *Geschichte*, ii. 302. p. 212. Berlin, 1842. E. T., p. 508.

SECT. IV.—POSITIVE EVIDENCE OF THE UNITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Ranke, *Untersuchungen üb. den Pentateuch*, vol. i. 10-156. Hävernick,
Einleitung, I. ii., § 110, pp. 35-58. E. T., pp. 23-44

The preceding sections were occupied with shewing the utter insufficiency of the grounds on which the unity of the Pentateuch has been questioned; and it may at least be concluded, from the character of the objections adduced, that it is by no means indispensable for the present purpose that the explanation offered with respect either to the interchange of the Divine names, or the contradictions charged on the work, should in every point be complete and satisfactory. It is enough to have suggested an explanation in any degree more probable than the vague and conflicting assumptions of the Document-hypothesis, than which, as must be evident, nothing can be more arbitrary. With respect to the contradictions on which that theory so much relies, they are in a great measure, it must have been seen, the direct and necessary results of the unwarrantable treatment to which the work has been subjected, and so can furnish no proof of the correctness of the theory; for similar discrepancies would certainly be produced in the case of any composition whatever, if submitted to such a disintegrating process. But any contradictions which can be fairly alleged are not of a character to throw the least suspicion on the unity of the Pentateuch; they are rather evidence of the honesty of the historian, who, prosecuting the great end of his work, did not incessantly turn aside to notice every particular wherein a sceptical reader might detect discrepancies, while many of them are owing only to the superficial view taken of the subject by the objectors.

Of more value for establishing the unity of the Pentateuch than a reconciliation of contradictions, which must necessarily be imperfect from the want of a complete acquaintance with all the circumstances of any particular case, will be the evidence which the work itself affords of a plan in accordance with which it appears to have been constructed.

The following observations are only of a general character,

there being no room for details, and are to be viewed as a summing up of the contents of the several books of the Pentateuch, as given in an earlier part of this work.

The Pentateuch has been received by the Jewish nation as an embodiment of their civil and ecclesiastical laws, and as the record of their national origin. Its leading feature is historical—a line of this kind running through, and connecting all its ordinances and precepts. The plan of a work of this description is determined greatly from the chronological order by which it is marked. Unity in this respect is a favourable presumption for the unity of authorship. The chronology of the Pentateuch is very precise, giving abundant evidence of the many lines which connect all its parts. There are two modes of chronology followed. In the beginning of the history, the time is determined according to the age of the patriarchs at the birth of the son in whose line the sacred history was to be continued—as of Seth, the son of Adam; Shem, the son of Noah, the second father of mankind; and of Abraham, the founder of the Israelitish nation, through his descendants, Isaac and Jacob. The chronology and the genealogy thus run parallel. This arrangement terminated with the last-named patriarch, whose removal into Egypt supplied a new chronological basis, (Gen. xlvii. 9; Exod. xii. 40; comp. Gen. xv. 13,)—the more indispensable, as it was no longer the history of a family, but of a nation. Connected with this there is another epoch—the Exodus, or departure from Egypt, which is followed throughout the last four books of the Pentateuch. Comparing the chronology with the contents of the Pentateuch, it appears that considerable portions of time are passed over in silence, while others are described with great minuteness. This has been ascribed to the want of materials in the one case, and the author's access to such in the other; but is it not, it may be asked, as reasonable to suppose that it has been owing to the specific purpose of the work? All such chasms, however, are bridged over by the genealogical lines which reach in one direction to the sixth day of creation, (Gen. v. 1,) and in the other, to a table which embraces the heads of the tribes and families of Israel, (Gen. xlv. compared with Num. xxvi.).¹

¹ Ranke, Untersuchungen, i. 10.

The book of Genesis was designed to serve as an introduction to the Law and the sacred literature of the Hebrews. It is divided into two parts: the first (ch. i.-xi.) embraces the origin and early history of the human race; the second (xii.-l.) is occupied with the history of the founders of the Israelitish nation. But so intimately are the two parts connected, that the aim of the first is by no means that of a universal history, but is strictly introductory to the patriarchal history, which again is preparatory to the theocratic institution. The starting-point is the original unity of mankind, and their relation to God; then follows an account of the interruption of that union by sin, which continually operated in producing divisions among the human race, through increasing alienation from God, and that portion of the human family who retained the fear of God, and who through successive ages, though in diminished numbers, enjoyed His favour and protection, until, by an interposition of Divine grace, there was found a medium through which the scattered members might be united anew. Viewed in the light of Genesis, the call of Abraham, and the theocratic relation with Israel to which it led, may be regarded partly as a medium for the manifestation of the Divine purposes and perfections, whereby man was to be prepared for recovering his original relation to God, and partly as exhibiting that relation itself. With the history of the world's origin, or at least of man's fall, begins the history of Israel, which is itself only a chapter in the great history of mankind in their relation to Abraham and his seed, (Gen. xii. 3, xxii 18). Genesis is thus not only the historical foundation, without which the history and constitution of the covenant-people would be incomprehensible, but is also, in a spiritual and religious bearing, an introduction to universal history, or the past and prospective relation of mankind to God.

More particularly, the unity of human nature, the result of original integrity, being subverted, though not irremediably, by the moral catastrophe recorded in Gen. iii., there was henceforward to be a development and a conflict of two opposing interests, but with an assurance from God of the final triumph of man's representative, (ver. 15.) This controversy soon manifested itself in the first family, when "Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him," (iv. 8.) The

place of the murdered Abel was filled by Seth, another son of Adam. His representative character and relation to the promised deliverance were thus acknowledged by the mother: "God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew," (ver. 26.) The punishment of the fratricide, his separation from the family of the faithful, with some notices of his posterity, their arts and inventions, are all disposed of in chap. iv., previous to the mention of Seth's birth; after which follows the genealogy of Seth, described as begotten in the image of his father, who had himself been created in the image of God, (v. 1-3, comp. with i. 27); with a notice of Adam's age at the birth of this son, in whom the blessing should be continued. Chap. v. brings down the history to Noah and his three sons. Here there is a marked divergence from the previous uniform course of the genealogy, where in the several members of the series only one son was specified, followed immediately by a notice of the years which the father survived after the birth of that son, and then of the whole duration of his life. The fact that these particulars are wanting in this case, and that three sons are named, gives ground to expect that Noah is to occupy an important place in the history, and accordingly a continuation of the narrative.¹

By this time the corruption of human nature had so developed itself, wickedness had reached such a height, that God intimated his purpose to destroy the ungodly race (vi. 1-7), with the exception of Noah, "who found grace in God's sight." (ver. 8,) and concerning whom his father, Lamech, indulged great expectations in relation to the primeval curse and promise (v. 29.) To Noah God gave special directions for the preservation of himself and his family, and through obedience to which they were preserved alive to re-people the earth, (vi. 9-ix.) Next follow the genealogies of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, "unto whom sons were born after the flood," with the incident which led to the dispersion of the nations, (x. xi. 1-9.) Of Shem, who is styled "the father of all the children of Eber," a notice which indicates the direction of the following line, (x. 21), and who was distinguished in the paternal blessing with "Blessed be the Lord God of

¹ Ranke, Untersuchungen, vol. i. p. 12.

Shem," (ix. 26); there is given a second and more extended genealogy—because of its special importance for the object of the history—in the line of Arphaxad, stated to have been born two years after the flood. This genealogy is much in the same form as that from Adam to Noah, and here also is a similar divergence when it reaches Terah, (xi. 10-26), showing, as in the former case, that Terah and his family, particularly his son Abraham, were destined to occupy a conspicuous place in the history. Accordingly, Abraham's Divine call, and his journey from his birth-place in Chaldea, with Sarah his wife, and Lot, his brother's son, to Canaan, form the subject of chap. xii. From this to chap. xxv. 10—a space greater than that devoted to the whole preceding history from the creation, and nearly a fourth of the book of Genesis—is occupied with an account of this distinguished patriarch, his faith and trials, and the transactions in which he took part. Every incident introduced into this portion of the history is somehow connected with Abraham, and is inserted only on that account, as the incursion of the confederate kings, (xiv.), and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, (xix.) Before leaving this point, notice must be taken of the promises made to Abraham of a blessing to the nations through him and his seed, (xii. 3; xxii. 18), and which form a prophetic link between the announcement in Eden and the future; while, moreover, the same spirit of opposition manifested itself, though not to so great an extent, between Ishmael and Isaac, the sons of Abraham, (xxi. 9), as between Cain and Abel in the first family.

After the notice of Abraham's death, and his burial by his sons Isaac and Ishmael, there is given the genealogy of the latter with the places where his descendants settled, (xxv. 12-18.) This matter being disposed of, the historian resumes the history of Isaac, whose special standing had been already intimated, as also his marriage with Rebekah, which brings again before the reader Abraham's kindred in Mesopotamia, (xxiv. 15-60), and of whose affairs the patriarch had obtained intimation some time before, (xxii. 20-24); the alliance thus formed, and that subsequently by Jacob with the same family, rendering necessary the notice respecting Nahor in xi. 27, 29. Isaac's history properly begins with some circumstances preceding the birth

of Jacob and Esau, and the intimations of their respective destinies. Of Isaac's own history comparatively little is recorded, and even that is very much blended with the history of the more tried Jacob, the heir of the promises and the patriarchal blessing, (xxviii. 3, 4.)

Jacob's history is full of incidents, and the most striking vicissitudes. Owing to a domestic feud, arising from his own improper conduct, he is compelled to seek safety from his brother in a strange land, where he meets with treatment which must have painfully reminded him of the deception which he himself had practised. In his flight he was met by the God of his fathers, who renewed to him the promises made to Abraham and Isaac, confirmed the paternal blessing, and assured him of the Divine presence and protection in his exile, and of a restoration to the land of his nativity (xxviii. 10-15), which, from the time that Abraham first entered it, was invariably regarded as Israel's inheritance.¹ In due time Jacob returned home. The promises made to him were specially important to the Israelites; for, as Jacob was the ancestor of no other people, they could view them as peculiarly their own. And indeed, as Hävernicks remarks, "the history of Jacob was written precisely for that people, who required to be encouraged to return out of Egypt, and take possession of the promised land."

Before the notice of the last meeting between Jacob and Isaac, who survived his son's return from Mesopotamia many years, and of the death of Isaac, there is inserted a full list of the names of Jacob's sons (xxxv. 23-26); and after mention of the fact, that his sons Esau and Jacob buried Isaac, there follows the genealogy of Esau (xxxvi.), concerning whom there had been a promise of a numerous posterity (xxv. 23).

Now occurred an incident which gave a new turn to the whole subsequent history. The envy of his brothers towards

¹ Compare Joseph's designation of Canaan as "the land of the Hebrews," (Gen. xl. 15),—an evidence of the manner in which the promises were understood at the time by the Hebrews themselves, and probably to some extent even among foreigners. (See Delitzsch, Gen. ii. 95). The remark in Gen.

xxxvii. 1: "And Jacob dwelt in the land *wherein his father was a stranger*, in the land of Canaan," is intended as a contrast to the notice of Esau's possessions in Mount Seir, chap. xxxvi., and thus closely connects these two parts of the narrative (Ranke, Unters., i. 26).

Joseph, the youngest but one of Jacob's family, led to his being sold as a slave into Egypt,—his father having been made to believe that he was dead (xxxvii.) The story of Joseph, so important in its bearing on the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and on the Exodus under Moses, is interrupted after mention is made of his being sold to an officer of Pharaoh—the first convenient point where it admitted of being broken off—in order to record some circumstances in the history of Judah (xxxviii.), another son of Jacob, and destined to act a prominent part in the theocracy (xlix. 8, &c.) The remaining portion of the narrative is mainly occupied with the wonderful combinations of Providence which led to Joseph's advancement to be ruler over Egypt, and the preparations for receiving Jacob with his whole family into a temporary home, the patriarch going down to Egypt with the Divine promise: "Fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation. I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again." (xli. 3, 4). Of a migration of this kind there had been already a prophetic announcement (xv. 13-16); but it is now only the "strange land" is particularly specified.

Jacob, before his death, fully assured the twelve tribes of their being put into possession of the promised land, and gave special charge to his sons to bury him with his fathers, in Canaan (xlvi. 21; xlix. 29). He even anticipated the division of the land, by assigning a part of it to Joseph (xlvi. 22). Jacob died, and in time all his sons; but Joseph's death only is recorded, owing to the place which he held, not so much in the court of Pharaoh as in the preceding history. The narrative concludes with an expression of Joseph's confidence in the realization of the promises, charging his brethren, on their departure from Egypt, to carry with them his bones: "They embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt," ready for the contemplated journey when God should visit his people.

Before tracing further this historic line, it must be apparent that no matter what circumstances engaged the author's attention, or caused a deviation from the main line of the narration, yet that is never lost sight of; and there is an immediate return to it as soon as the collateral subjects have been

disposed of. There are various interruptions in the history ; but, strictly speaking, no breaks or blanks, the reiterations of names and genealogies completely connecting or resuming the dropped thread of the history. Further, amid all the genealogies introduced or adverted to, there is only one which presents a continuous line, that which reaches from Adam through Seth, Shem, Abraham and Isaac to Jacob : all others break off at greater or less distances, and are afterwards, for the most part, entirely lost sight of. There thus appears throughout all the generations a seed peculiarly the Lord's, and with the attestation of whose lineage, from the father of mankind, the historian's attention is mainly, if not entirely, occupied. With this is connected a chain of blessings, renewed and enlarged to the patriarchs in succession,—blessings to themselves, and through them to other nations. And, finally, it is to be remarked how the various intimations of the history, both as respects Divine promises and Providential arrangements, have, from an early period, been all converging towards Egypt as the appointed cradle of the nation.

A new epoch opens with Exodus. This book is closely connected with the preceding, by its opening repetition of the names of Jacob's sons who had immigrated with him into Egypt ; by the reference to the death of Joseph, (Ex. i. 6, comp. with Gen. l. 26,) and to the "new king who knew not Joseph," ver. 8, but still more by the terms in which God resumes his long suspended communications, (Ex. iii. 6-10.) Without any prejudice, however, to the unity of the composition, several centuries have been silently passed over ; not certainly, as already remarked, for any lack of materials of a general historical character, but only because such had no direct bearing on the subject. The author's object was not to produce a history of Egypt or of its rulers, but only of Israel, and their circumstances during this period presented few facts illustrative of the Divine purposes. There was indeed the preparation for a glorious future, but it was very much of a negative character. There was the silent growth of the nation on the soil whereon Providence had for a season planted it ; and even this showed how the promises made to the patriarchs were to be realized ; and first in

a posterity sufficiently numerous to possess the promised inheritance.

The historian accordingly begins by relating how the family of Jacob became so numerous as to cause considerable uneasiness to the Egyptian government, who feared they might be able to assert an independence, and abandon the country to the prosperity of which they must have largely contributed. This led to various devices for keeping down the numbers of this people and breaking their spirit. The very evils, however, to which they were exposed, while serving to wean them from Egypt, and to arm them for the difficulties connected with the conquest of their future territories, were also made the means of providing them with a duly qualified leader. In consequence of an edict, which directed every Hebrew male child to be cast into the river, (i. 22,) a child of one of the families of Levi was exposed on the banks of the Nile, but providentially saved by Pharaoh's daughter, and adopted as her son. On his attaining to manhood, he felt a desire to interpose on behalf of his afflicted brethren,—his kind intentions were coldly repulsed, and to avoid the wrath of Pharaoh, he was obliged to quit Egypt, (ii). In his retirement among strangers with whom he had allied himself in marriage, the disappointed and exiled patriot received an express commission from God to deliver Israel from their Egyptian bondage, (iii.-iv.) The message which he was directed to deliver to Pharaoh was, "Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, even my first-born: and I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born," (iv. 22, 23.)

On this, the historian narrates how, on Pharaoh's refusal to liberate Israel, as had been pre-intimated to Moses, (Ex. iii. 19), God glorified himself, and ultimately delivered his people from the thralldom to which they had been subjected. Throughout this conflict, every day's proceedings were fraught with mighty events,—evidences of grace, righteousness, and majesty; wonderful displays of the Divine character, and also remarkable exhibitions of a mind not merely alienated from God, but moved by the most inveterate enmity towards Him, and determined opposition to His claims. As these matters come peculiarly under what belongs to Divine revelation, they are recorded

with so much minuteness as to constitute, as it were, a daily journal of the transactions, (v.-x.) When the emancipation of Israel was finally attained by a direct interposition of God himself, their preservation in the judgment which carried death into every Egyptian household, as at the outset had been threatened with respect to Pharaoh only, (iv. 23,) was secured through their reception as the covenant people into the shelter afforded by the blood of the paschal lamb, (xi., xii.), an ordinance which should be continued in the land of their inheritance as a memorial of their redemption, (xii. 24, 27.)

Towards the beginning of the narrative of the above dealings with Pharaoh, there is inserted the genealogy of Levi, (vi. 16-26,) in order to show the lineage of Moses, the deliverer of Israel, and of his elder brother Aaron, already associated with him in his intercourse with Pharaoh, and to whom was subsequently committed the Israelitish priesthood.

At the outset of the narrative of the march, there occurs another note to connect Exodus with Genesis, "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying (Gen. l. 25,) God will surely visit you; and ye shall surely carry up my bones away hence with you," (Ex. xiii. 19). The notice of the time of the Israelitish sojourn as extending to 430 years, (xii. 40,) also assumes a connexion with the preceding history, as it would be of no value had not the commencement of the period been chronologically settled.¹ The attempt of Pharaoh to recapture the people, whom but recently, when he was subdued by the Divine terrors, he urged to depart, terminates in his own utter overthrow, (xiv.); after which the narrative goes on to notice the most important incidents which occurred until reaching Sinai in the third month after leaving Egypt, (xix. 1,) and where the people encamped for a considerable time.

The remaining portion of this book is occupied with that remarkable legislation to which Israel were required to conform. At the commencement of this legislation is a summary thereof, introduced by the Decalogue, (xx-xxiii,) which is indeed its germ, and the foundation of the arrangements in consonance with which the God of Israel took up his residence

¹ Ranke, *Untersuchungen*, i. 30.

among them, (xxv., &c.) The symbolical dwelling-place of Jehovah, with its proper attendants, the manner of their consecration and the nature of their service are distinctly prescribed, and now should follow the account of the commencement and completion of the structure with all its accompanying arrangements, but for the interruption occasioned by a gross act of idolatry which threatened the very foundation of the theocratic constitution, (xxxii.-xxxiv.) Not until this apostasy, which painfully revealed the carnal disposition of the people and the deteriorating influences of their Egyptian sojourn, was remedied by the compassionate faithfulness of Jehovah, who received them anew into covenant, is the completion of the tabernacle recorded (xxxv.-xl.); where the constantly repeated observation, that the several parts of the structure, with the various arrangements, were in express conformity to the directions prescribed by Jehovah, connects this portion of the history with that containing those directions, while it is preparatory to further intimations regarding the consecration of the ministers of the sanctuary and the arrangement of the worship, without which the account of the mere erection of the sanctuary would be necessarily incomplete.

The Book of Leviticus treats but little of historical transactions; the chief incidents of that nature being the account of the consecration of the priests for which the preceding book made preparation, the death of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, through disobedience to the laws of their priestly office, (Lev. viii.-x.,) and the execution of a blasphemer, (xxiv. 10-12, 23.) The contents are chiefly legislative or didactic, and in particular, a continuation of the ordinances and arrangements relative to the service of the tabernacle, the erection of which had been mentioned in the concluding chapters of Exodus. The connexion is even more clearly evinced by the opening statement of Leviticus, that the communications of the Divine oracle now issued from "the tent of meeting," the very name of which contained a reference to Ex. xxix. 42, and which on its erection had been taken possession of by Jehovah, and was filled with his glory, (Ex. xl. 34, 35.)

The book begins with directions regarding the ritual and the various acts of public worship,—the law of sacrifice in its

various kinds, (i.-vii.) This is followed by a command for the consecration of the ministers of sacrifice (viii.), according to instructions previously given in Ex. xxviii. 2, 4; xxix. 1; xxx. 24. Further, the theocratic holiness required of a people among whom God's sanctuary was placed, was symbolized by the removal of all uncleanness from the precincts of the camp; and hence the description of the holy place and the consecration of its attendants, is followed by the laws concerning cleanness and uncleanness, (xi.-xv.)

It is unnecessary to specify more particularly the various ordinances which had respect more immediately to the sojourn in the wilderness, or to the settled abode of the people in the land of their possession, and were intended to regulate their ecclesiastical and civil polity throughout their generations; but notice should be taken of some prophetic features of this book as seen in certain announcements in connexion with the Divine enactments, as in chap. xxv., xxvi., where the lawgiver represents to himself the future history of his people, the calamities to which they would be exposed if they disregarded the authority of their theocratic Ruler, and on the contrary, the blessings sure to follow from a faithful adherence to his laws and ordinances.

Thus far the legislation chiefly concerned the central principle of the theocratic relation which it was thus seen reached into the future, but now it reverts to immediate changes requisite in the encampment. This accordingly is the opening subject of the Book of Numbers, the connexion of which with Leviticus, is distinctly marked by the date and the scene of the transactions, and the place where Moses received the Divine communications, (Num. i. 1.)¹ After an enumeration of the men capable of bearing arms, the separation of the Levites for the service of the sanctuary, and various arrangements for the purifying of the camp in accordance with previous laws, the narrative passes to the departure of the Israelites from Sinai, where they had hitherto encamped, (Num. x. 11,) and now might be expected to follow the account of their entrance into the land for which the preceding arrangements obviously prepared. But just when every thing externally was ready for the

¹ Ranke, *Untersuchungen*, i. 112.

seizure of Canaan, the people prove themselves unfit for their high calling. This portion of the narrative, then, while it shows (xiv. 22,) a knowledge of the whole preceding history, embraces, by the intimation of a forty years' detention in the wilderness, all that follows, and so furnishes further evidence of the unity of the composition.

The laws subsequently given, showed the Israelites that though condemned to a severe punishment, they were still regarded as the covenant people. The theocracy still survived, as the history of the thirty-eight years' wanderings (xiv.-xix.) showed, that not by their own strength but by the grace of Jehovah, they should obtain possession of Canaan. But as the appointed termination of their wanderings approached, the details are more ample, events of an important bearing on the theocracy follow in rapid succession. Miriam dies: the fortieth year is near its completion. Israel are again in sight of the promised land, when Aaron also dies. A request made to the King of Edom for a passage through his territory is scornfully refused, (xx.,) the insolence being apparently based on the supposition, that Jehovah had forsaken his people, (see xiv. 14,) and so contains a reference to their preceding history. Various kings of the Canaanites are successively slain, and their lands are taken possession of by the invaders, (xxi.) But a still greater display of Divine power was witnessed in the fact of the enemies of the theocracy being made, in the person of Balaam, to bow before the future Israelitish king, (xxii.-xxiv.), already announced in the blessing of Jacob, (Gen. xlix. 10.) But this showed only the more plainly the people's own weakness, in readily yielding to the seductions devised by Balaam, who had been so completely foiled in his direct contest with Jehovah. But vengeance awaits the seducers, (xxv. 17;) the people are again numbered, Joshua is appointed the successor of Moses, and the war of vengeance begins, (xxxi.) This was the last work of an external nature in which Moses engaged. He is henceforth occupied with the internal affairs of the people, (xxxii.-xxxvi.)

While Moses was thus engaged, the eleventh month of the fortieth year arrived. Aware, from the sentence which excluded him from Canaan, that his own decease must also

be at hand, he devotes his few remaining days to the admonishing of the people, recapitulating God's commands, and His dealings with them from the day of their departure from Egypt, (Deut. i-iv.). He moreover shews them, that while the first effect of the law communicated to them was fear, producing impressions of the Divine holiness and majesty, (v.), its essence is love to Jehovah, whose character, as made known by His merciful acts, awakens love, and so leads to the fulfilment of the law, (vi.). There were, however, two dangers against which Israel must be warned. The very strictness of the law might tempt them to idolatry, as a means of escaping its heavy yoke; hence the warnings against idolatry and Canaanitish practices, with the assurance that such practices would expose them to the punishments denounced against the heathen, whom they were about to displace, (viii. viii.). The other danger proceeded from dependence on the law, as if it was for their own merits they were so favoured by Jehovah; they must, therefore, be reminded of their conduct, from the day of their departure from Egypt to the time then present, (ix.); and how God mercifully restored the tables of the law which had been broken, and so re-established the covenant which, on the people's part, had been made void, (x. 1-5). A blessing and a curse, as the respective consequences of obedience and disobedience, are set before them, and are to be put on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, regarding which the speaker observes: "Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites?" (xi. 30,) and then adds, "For ye shall pass over Jordan, to go to possess the land which the Lord your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it and dwell therein." This gives occasion to advert to the life of the people when thus settled, and additional laws and arrangements are made with that view. Various other laws of a supplementary character are announced—some presupposing the earlier enactments refer to judicial difficulties; then follows "the theocratic confession of faith, by which every Israelite acknowledged in person that he is what God has enjoined and called him to be,"¹—an appropriate conclusion of the whole legislation, (xxi.-xxvi.).

¹ Hävernack, Einleitung, I. ii. 58. E. T., p. 44.

The blessing and the curse of Jehovah, previously alluded to, required to be fully impressed on the people about to enter on their inheritance, and their possession of which depended on their adherence to that covenant into which they had been admitted, (xxviii.-xxx.). There is a notice of the lawgiver's age, (xxxi. 2,) which, deducting the forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, corresponds with the intimation made of his age at the time of the exodus, (Exod. vii. 7). The book of the law was solemnly committed to the keeping of the Levites. The last act is performed; the lawgiver solemnly blesses the tribes, as the dying patriarch Jacob had done ages before.

The book of the law, and the history of its establishment in Israel, closes with an appendix concerning the death of the lawgiver—the most eminent medium of the Divine communications. This, of course, must be regarded as an addition by another hand, if, as will be shewn, Moses be the author of the Pentateuch. The proper conclusion is chap. xxxiii., or more strictly xxxi. 23; for in ver. 24 Moses is stated to have been the author of what preceded, as he was also of the song (xxxii.) and the blessing which accompanies it. But however it may be, as to the precise point where the work concludes, or as regards the incorporation of these last productions of Moses into the Pentateuch in order to its completion, all that follows chap. xxxiii. is, unquestionably, not from Moses. In accordance with this is the close connexion between the last section of Deuteronomy and the beginning of the book of Joshua, (comp. Deut. xxxiv. 5, with Josh. i. 1, particularly יְהוֹשֻׁעַ in the latter passage,) which shews that Deut. xxxiv. is intended to serve as a transition to the following history, and that it is probably the production of the same author.

Whether considered as a whole, or in its separate parts, the Pentateuch presents a unity, as respects both its plan and execution, such as is met with in no other work of antiquity, the genuineness of which is beyond controversy. And this is the more surprising, considering its great antiquity, which throws back its origin to a simple, inartificial age, its extent as a literary production, and the variety of subjects embraced in the composition. A critical scepticism will attach little weight to these considerations, for, proceeding to the examination of

the work with a foregone conclusion that it is fragmentary, or a compilation of several authors and ages, discrepancies and contradictions must necessarily be detected, in order to maintain the credit of the theory. That this is no misrepresentation of the case, will be acknowledged by every one who has given a patient and impartial consideration to the various phases of the documentary criticism, whether applied to the heathen productions of antiquity, or to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Nor is it too much to affirm, that before the unity of the Pentateuch can be set aside, the opponents must produce more satisfactory arguments than those on which they have hitherto relied.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THE denial of the unity of the Pentateuch was only a step to the denial of its antiquity, with the view of more conclusively showing that in its present form at least it cannot have been a production of the Mosaic age. Now, with respect to this point in particular, the history of the controversy is no less instructive than it is in regard to the successive changes of the Document-hypothesis. Almost every period of note, from Joshua to the return from the Babylonish captivity, has in turn been assigned to the production of the Pentateuch, and it is a noticeable fact that through the continued discussion of the subject, this date is gradually receding. Thus, in the words of Moses Stuart,¹ "At the time when Wolf assailed the antiquity and genuineness of the Iliad and Odyssey, and spread far and wide his scepticism on this subject, the antiquity and genuineness of the Pentateuch began to be attacked on the like grounds, and about the time of Eichhorn's death, it was considered by the dominant neological party in Germany, as established beyond reasonable contradiction, that the Pentateuch was composed at a period near the Captivity, or perhaps even after the return from it. By slow degrees the thousand years over which the Pentateuch was made to leap, in order to find an appropriate birthday, began to be diminished. By and by it was felt by some to be necessary to assign a date for it, which was antecedent to the time when a copy of the law was found by Hilkiah the priest, in the reign of Josiah, B.C. 624. Of late the date of the Pentateuch, at least of a large portion of it, has receded still more, even back to the times of Solomon or David, B.C. 1000-1040.

¹ Crit. Hist. and Defence of the Old Test. Canon, § 3, pp. 27, 28. Comp. also pp. 43, 44.

Lately, it seems, in part, to have made another retreat, viz., to the time of the Judges, or possibly even of Joshua. Such I take to be the view of Ewald and Tuch, and also of some other distinguished German critics."

But not only is the date of the Pentateuch thus gradually approximated to the Mosaic age, the same critics, by means of the Document-hypothesis, effect a compromise between the older opinion of its being the work of Moses and the new theories. They almost all allow that it includes some productions of Moses, however they may differ as to the extent of such compositions. This is an important concession, for it at once sweeps away many of the arguments on which, for a time, the opponents of the genuineness laid much stress. In particular it is a full admission of the untenableness of the objection which originated in, or at least was more fully carried out through, the Wolfian controversy, that the art of writing was unknown among the Hebrews in, and even long subsequent to, the Mosaic age. This objection has recently been so fully obviated by incontrovertible evidence, that it is no longer urged,¹ except, perhaps, by such as are not fully informed of the present state of the controversy, as must have been evident with respect to the American writer, Norton, who largely avails himself of this argument.²

The result of all this is, that the ground is very much cleared of various matters irrelevant to, or only indirectly bearing on, the question; and, therefore, in further prosecution of this subject, it is proposed in this chapter to proceed at once to establish, i. The relative age of the Pentateuch, or its priority to all the other books of the Old Testament; ii. Its absolute age, showing it to have been written before the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, and during their sojourn in the wilderness after leaving Egypt; and to consider, iii. Its

¹ De Wette and Gesenius, who once held the contrary opinion, subsequently admitted that writing among the Hebrews must have dated at least from the time of Moses. De Wette (*Archäologie*, § 277, p. 401, Leip. 1842,) refers to the dissertation of Hengstenberg, (*Authentie*, i. 430 ff. E. T. p. 394 ff.) on

the subject, in opposition to what he deems the sceptical examination of Vater and Von Bohlen. *Comp. Stuart. Old Test. Canon*, § 3, pp. 40, 41, and Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 42, 327.

² See *Stuart, O. Test. Canon*, § i. pp. 11, 12.

archaisms, an additional evidence of its antiquity; and, iv. The alleged anachronisms as respects the Mosaic age.

SECT. I. RELATIVE AGE OF THE PENTATEUCH AS RESPECTS THE OTHER HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

Hertz, (J. M.) Sind in den Büchern der Könige Spuren des Pentateuchs u. der Mos. Gesetze zu finden? Alton. 1822. Hengstenberg, Authentie, E. T., vol. i. Traces of the Pentateuch in the Books of Kings, pp. 169-212. Traces of the Pent. in Hosea, pp. 107-135; and in Amos, pp. 136-169. Keil, Einleitung, § 34, pp. 132-142. Hävernick, Einleitung, I. ii. § 136-143, pp. 493-566. E. T. pp. 367-437.

The priority of the Pentateuch, as compared with the other portions of the Hebrew canon, is fully proved by the numerous references to it which occur in the latter. Such testimonies are decisive with regard to this particular point, while also exceedingly valuable in determining the absolute age of the work, as they form a continuous chain, purporting to reach even to the Mosaic period. Whatever suspicion may in general be deemed to attach to arguments drawn from one portion of Scripture in corroboration of another, there can be no foundation for such in the present case. There is, indeed, no question as to the legitimacy of this evidence, however much it is attempted to depreciate its value.

The grounds on which the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch try to evade the force of this argument are, either by denying the genuineness of the earlier works which contain those references, which relate, moreover, they maintain, only to a traditional knowledge of the facts, and not to anything written; or by the allegation that, though such references may authenticate various passages of the Pentateuch, the testimony thus furnished cannot be applied to the work in its present form.¹ As regards this latter point, however, the question is very much narrowed by the conclusions already arrived at respecting the unity of the work; while the denial of the genuineness of some of the books of Scripture wherein such references are found, can occasion no great difficulty, inasmuch as it is itself partly grounded on that very fact.

¹ Davidson, Introduction to Old Testament, p. 630.

But, further, there are other books of Scripture, even of a comparatively early age, whose genuineness is beyond all controversy, which contain numerous references to the Pentateuch; and, moreover, the present argument is only one branch of numerous concurrent evidences. In prosecuting this inquiry, it will be of importance to notice whether, within the compass of the Hebrew literature, which will thus come cursorily under review, there be anything capable of being construed into counter-statements to those of the Pentateuch, or showing that opposite views at any time prevailed in the Israelitish nation with respect to matters pertaining to the period of their history comprehended in that work. The result thus obtained will be advantageous to the present question, preliminary to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, but more especially to that which concerns its authenticity.

§ 1. *References to the Pentateuch in the Historical Books.*

The whole historical literature of the Hebrews, from the book of Joshua, which is the immediate continuation of the Mosaic history, to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, of the period of the restoration from Captivity, abounds with such references to the Pentateuch as, in the absence of any opposite testimony, most fully show that it constituted from the beginning the only foundation of the nation's history and polity. So obvious, indeed, in many cases, are these testimonies, that occasionally it will be enough simply to advert to them, and they are at the same time so numerous that only the more important can be adduced.

The book of Joshua, besides express mention in various ways of "the book of the law," or "the book of the law of Moses" (Josh. i. 7, 8; viii. 31, 34; xxiii. 6), rests so completely on the Pentateuch, and is so full of references to it, that some of the opponents of the genuineness urge this very fact, for the purpose of showing that the two works, or at least Deuteronomy and Joshua, are the productions of the same author, and thus getting rid of an independent testimony.¹ Others merely try to reduce the value of the evidence by maintaining the late composition of the book of Joshua.² It is enough

¹ De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 168, p. 210.

² Davidson, *Introduction*, p. 630.

to observe here, respecting these views, that the priority of the Pentateuch to the book of Joshua is thus anyhow so fully recognised as to render utterly superfluous the production or examination of particular references.

The book of Judges, the next in order, has for its subject a period of great political confusion ; and so rude and lawless apparently is the state of religion and society therein depicted, that it might be supposed that the Mosaic legislation and ordinances had no existence. A more careful examination will, however, correct this misapprehension. The book of the law is certainly not expressly mentioned, yet there are various indications that such a document was in existence, and that, notwithstanding the disorders of the times, the Mosaic institutions were the foundation of the religious and political life of the nation. With regard to the first of these points, there are references to instructions and commandments given by Moses ; as in Judg. i. 20 : " And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses said," (comp. Num. xiv. 24) ; and in iii. 4 : " The commandments of the Lord, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses." Further, there are numerous instances of *verbal* agreement with the Pentateuch, which more particularly prove the existence of a written document.

Bertheau admits that many passages of the book of Judges would be quite unintelligible, had it not been preceded by the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua. He notices especially chap. i.-ii. 5, all the passages in ch. ii. 11-xvi., which are of the nature of historical reflexions, as pointing to the earlier books, (comp. Ex. xxiii. 20-33,) and that the frequently recurring expression, " they did evil in the eyes of the Lord," is found in Num. xxxii. 13 ; Deut. iv. 25, ix. 18, xvii. 2.¹ Almost every word of the angel's address, in chap. ii. 1-5, is found, Bertheau observes, in the Pentateuch. Thus, in ver. 1, besides mention of the deliverance from Egypt, and of the land with regard to which God swore unto their fathers, (Deut. vi. 10,) there is reference, as also in ver. 3, to a previous Divine communication : " I said, I will never break my covenant with you," (see Lev. xxvi. 44). Ver. 2. " Ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land," (comp. Ex. xxiii. 32 ; Deut. vii. 2) ;

¹ Das Buch der Richter u. Rut, Einleit., § 4, pp. xxiii., xxiv. Leip. 1845.

"Ye shall throw down their altars," (comp. Ex. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3). The last clause of this verse, "but ye have not obeyed my voice," refers to Ex. xxiii. 21, where, in reference also to the angel of the Lord, it is said, "beware of him and obey his voice." Ver. 3—"Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be to you for sides, (לְצָדֵיכֶם) and their gods shall be a snare (לְמוֹקֵשׁ) to you." This had been intimated in Num. xxxiii. 55, which also explains the abbreviated expression, "for sides," for "thorns in your sides." The other term מִוְקֵשׁ is found in Ex. xxiii. 33—"If thou serve their gods it will surely be a snare unto thee."¹

Another reference to a preceding communication is in Judges ii. 15—"Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn to them," (comp. Lev. xxvi. 15-17; Deut. xxviii. 25). The account of the discomfiture of Sisera (iv. 15) rests on Ex. xiv. 24, as appears from the term וַיִּהְיֶה, "troubled," indicating, as Hengstenberg observes, that the destruction wrought by the sword of the Israelites originated no less in God than when He more visibly interposed, as in the passage of the Red Sea.² The address of the prophet in vi. 8 begins with the introduction to the Decalogue, (Ex. xx. 2); and in ver. 16, God repeats to Gideon the promise made to Moses, (Ex. iii. 12,) "Certainly I will be with thee,"—a coincidence which, from the peculiar use of וְיִ, cannot be accidental; and in ver. 39, Gideon excuses his boldness towards God in the terms used by Abraham, (Gen. xviii. 32). Of particular importance is the message of Jephthah to the king of the Ammonites, (xi. 12-27). This historical abstract is taken almost verbally from Num. xx., xxi.; comp. ver. 17 with Num. xx. 14-21. From this statement alone it may be concluded, that in the time of the Judges there existed exact accounts of the transactions of the Mosaic age. In xiii. 5, the angel of the Lord promises to the wife of Manoah a son in the very words addressed to Hagar, (Gen. xvi. 11), the narrator even retaining the unusual form יִלְדָּה for יִלְדֶּתָּ. The wickedness of the inhabitants of Gibeah (xix. 22 sq.,) is described in the language of Gen. xix. 4; and

¹ Das Buch der Richter, pp. 46, 50, 51. Hengstenberg, *Authentie*, ii. 25.

² *Authentie*, ii. 26.

they are said, in xx. 6, to "have committed זָמָה וּבִלְיָה in Israel." For this use of זָמָה, see Lev. xviii. 17. The expression, עֲשֵׂה נְבִלָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל, is used especially of acts of unchastity in Gen. xxxiv. 7; Deut. xxii. 21, and in the latter passage with the notice, "so shalt thou put away evil from among you," which is again referred to in Judg. xx. 13.

But further indications of the observance of the Mosaic law and ordinances in the time of the Judges are numerous and incontrovertible. There was a national sanctuary, "the house of God," at Shiloh, (xviii. 31, compared with Josh. xviii. 1; Psalm lxxviii. 60). Other places of worship are not mentioned, except the altar erected at Bethel, whither the ark of the covenant was brought during the war of the other tribes with the Benjamites, (xx. 27, xxi. 24), and the offering of the people at Bochim, (ii. 5,) of Gideon at Ophrah, (vi. 26,) and of Manoah, (xiii. 19,)—all which were justified by the appearance of the angel of the Lord. The only instance of the violation of the law, which restricted acts of public worship to the sanctuary "before Jehovah," (Deut. xii. 6,) is the private establishment of Micah, (xvii.), and even this is, in the history itself, noted as disorderly by the terms: "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes," (ver. 6).¹ The priesthood, too, was in the possession of the tribe of Levi; and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was High Priest, (xx. 27 sq., comp. with Deut. x. 6, 8; Josh. xiv. 1, xvii. 4 sq., xxiv. 23,) attending upon the ark of the covenant, עֹמֵד לְפָנָיו, (xx. 28; comp. Deut. x. 8,) and asking counsel of God for the people according to the directions given in Num. xxvii. 21. It also appears that the Levites occupied the place assigned to them in the Pentateuch, as the privileged servants of God, when even the idolatrous Micah promised himself so much advantage from having secured the services of an itinerant member of that tribe: "Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest," (xvii. 13). And again, the purpose of the Danites to rob Micah of his sanctuary, was connected with the prospect of obtaining his Levitical priest, (xviii. 16). The whole political arrangements, also, are found

¹ Keil, Einleitung, § 34, p. 134.

to be in accordance with the Pentateuch, as the popular assembly, עֵדָה governed by the elders, (xx. 1, xxi. 16, 22). Judah has the precedence among the tribes, and the chief command, (i. 2, xx. 18; comp. Num. ii. 3, x. 14; Gen. xlix. 8 sq.). Gideon refuses both for himself and for his sons to be king, because Jehovah alone is King of Israel, (viii. 22,) in strict accordance with Deut. xvii. 14, xxxiii. 5; Ex. xix. 5, 6. Several other ordinances of the Pentateuch, civil and religious, are also mentioned. The prohibition of marriages with the Canaanites was recognized; for the perplexity of the people in procuring wives for the Benjamites (xxi. 7) could have arisen from no other cause. The levirate law was also observed in this period, (see Ruth ii. 12, comp. with Lev. xxv. 25, 48). Circumcision was the distinguishing mark of the Israelites, (Judg. xiv. 3). The distinctions as to food were also known, (xiii. 4, 14,) and fasting appears as an emblem of repentance, (xx. 26; comp. Lev. xvi. 29).

But on the other hand, it is objected that one transaction, at least, of this period is so opposed to the principles of the Mosaic institutions, that it could not have occurred had these been in existence at the time. This is the much controverted vow of Jephthah, with, as many suppose, its consequent human sacrifice, (xi. 30-40.) But even admitting, though perhaps not the more probable view of the matter,¹ that Jephthah's daughter was actually sacrificed, such an offering manifested, unquestionably, great ignorance on his part of at least the spirit of the Mosaic law, evincing, perhaps, too close an adherence to the letter. The whole transaction may, in the circumstances, have been due entirely to an error of judgment or interpretation. It cannot with certainty be affirmed that Jephthah had from the first contemplated a human sacrifice, however the terms of the vow may seem to countenance such a supposition; but even should that have been the case, the excited feelings of the moment, and particularly of a person like this Gileadite, who, from his previous history, cannot be presumed to have been intimately versed in the precise bearings of the law, may have readily prompted

¹ See Hengstenberg *Authentie*, ii. 127-148. E. T. 105-121. Reinke *Ueb. d. Gelübde Jephta's. Beiträge*, i. 421-526.

to a rash and unguarded utterance, while the consideration that vows once made were irrevocable, (Num. xxx. 2; Deut. xxiii. 23,) may have subsequently outweighed the other consideration of the unlawfulness of human sacrifices. However this may be, it is enough for the present purpose to observe, that there is no intimation that Jephthah's proceeding, however dictated, was anything but his own act, or that it was sanctioned by any competent authority. Even the notice that it became a custom for the daughters of Israel to go yearly "to lament," or "celebrate," as *תְּנוּחַת* is variously rendered, the daughter of Jephthah, (ver. 40,) was only a popular attestation to her devotion in willingly offering herself for the weal of her country, and had no reference to the act of the father,¹ nor did it in any way express approval of it.

The books of Samuel, the earlier portion of which relates to the period of the Judges, amply confirm the above notices, while further showing that from the time of Eli down to that of David, the Pentateuch was the rule of the theocratic life in Israel. Although the book of the law is not indeed expressly named, yet so numerous are the references and quotations, that its existence and identification are proved more conclusively than if it were referred to by name. Thus there is mention of the public worship at the tabernacle at Shiloh under Eli and Samuel, (1 Sam. i. ii.,) and afterwards at Nob, under Abimelech, a descendant of Eli, (1 Sam. xxi. 2, comp. xxiii. 9, 11, 20,) conducted according to the instructions of the law, the transgression of which is charged on the sons of Eli and punished in their destruction, (1 Sam. ii. 12-17, 22-36; iv. 15-22); and also of the ark of the covenant of Jehovah of Hosts *שֵׁנַת הַכְּרֻבִּים* "dwelling on the cherubim," as standing in the sanctuary, (1 Sam. iv. 4, comp. 2 Sam. vi. 2; Ex. xxv. 17-22,)² where the lamp of God burned, (1 Sam. iii. 3, comp. Ex. xxvii. 20, 21; Lev. xxiv. 23.) So also in cases of difficulty, the inquiry of the Lord by means of the Ephod connected with the Urim of the High Priest, (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 37; xxiii. 9; xxx. 7); the notices, too, of transgressions of the law and their punishment; as, for instance, the expulsion by

¹ Bertheau, *Das Buch der Richter*, p. 165.

² Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, p. 17. Leip. 1842.

Saul, out of the land, of such as had familiar spirits, (1 Sam. xxviii. 3, comp. Deut. xviii. 10, 11); and the interdict against the eating of blood, (1 Sam. xiv. 33, comp. Lev. iii. 17; Gen. ix. 4): for the form עַל־הַדָּם "upon the blood," see Lev. xix. 26.

Of references to the historical statements of the Pentateuch, the following are examples:—In the discourse of the prophet in 1 Sam. ii. 27, &c., notice is taken of the acts of Jehovah in Egypt, of the election of the family of Aaron to the priestly office, and the publication of the law of sacrifice, and the portions accruing to the priests, as in Lev. x. 12-15.¹ And Samuel himself declared before all Israel that his appeal was to Jehovah, who "advanced Moses and Aaron, and who brought your fathers out of Egypt." He refers to Jacob's migration into Egypt, and the cry of his descendants unto the Lord and their deliverance through Moses and Aaron, (1 Sam. xii. 6, 8.)

Of special importance for the present inquiry, are the verbal citations from the Pentateuch found in these books. Thus כִּי־שֹׁפֵט כֹּהֲנִים אֶת־עַם, "the right of the priest with the people," (1 Sam. ii. 13,) is taken from Deut. xviii. 3, which prescribed the priest's share of the sacrifice. In the words of Samuel to Saul, (1 Sam. xv. 29,) "The Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent; for he is not a man that he should repent," there is a verbal reminiscence of Num. xxiii. 19. So also various allusions to the law in the account of the choice of a king, (1 Sam. viii.-x.) The elders of the people prefer their request, "make us a king to judge us like all the nations," (viii. 5,) in the words of Deut. xvii. 14, "I will set a king over me like as all the nations." The law in Deut. xvii., is so expressed as to show a disapproval of the regal office, while permitting it, and such is the view taken of it by Samuel, who yields to the people's wish only on receiving an express command from God. The law required that the king should be chosen by Jehovah; this was therefore attended to, (x. 19-21.) Samuel was directed to declare to the people "the law of the king," (viii. 9,) and accordingly he "told the people the law of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord," (x. 25). כִּי־שֹׁפֵט הַמֶּלֶכָּה is formed after Deut. xviii. 3;

² Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, p. 12.

וַיָּנֶחַ לְפָנֵי יְהוָה is taken literally from Num. xvii. 22, while the depositing of the document before the Lord in the place where the book of Jehovah's covenant with the people was already laid up, is particularly worthy of notice. "Had not the law of the Lord been laid up before the Ark of the Covenant, Samuel would hardly have thought of depositing such a document there."¹ The discourse wherein Samuel vindicates the integrity which marked the discharge of his judicial functions, (1 Sam. xii. 3,) is formed of various expressions in the law, (see Num. xvi. 15; Lev. v. 23; xx. 4.) The phraseology in ver. 14, "Rebel not against the mouth of Jehovah," תִּמְרֵי הַמֶּוֹךְ is found in Deut. i. 26, 43; ix. 7, 23; xxxi. 27. By the reference to the language of Moses in Deut. i. 43, "Ye would not hear, but rebelled against the mouth of the Lord," Samuel gives emphasis to his own words, "If ye will obey his voice and not rebel against the mouth of the Lord." Many references to the Pentateuch occur also in 2 Sam. vii., where in particular, vv. 22-24, are almost entirely formed from Deut. iv. 7; x. 21; xiii. 6, compared with Lev. xxvi. 20; Ex. xix. 5. In 2 Sam. xii. 9, Nathan says to David, "wherefore hast thou despised the word of Jehovah, in that thou hast done what is evil in his sight?" and in xxii. 23, David says, "all his judgments are before me; and as for his commandments, I did not depart from them," (see Psalm xviii. 22,) an undoubted allusion to the Mosaic legislation as a whole.

The references to the Pentateuch in the later historical Books of Kings and Chronicles are still more numerous and explicit. Thus, an important testimony is David's admonition to Solomon "to keep Jehovah's statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses,"² (1 Kings ii. 3.) And Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, (1 Kings viii. 22, &c.; 2 Chron. vi. 14, &c.) forms a commentary on the blessing and curse which Moses set before the people, Lev. xxvi; Deut. xxviii. In 1 Kings viii. 9, mention is made of the Ark of the Covenant;

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentie*, E. T., ii. 206.

² Thenius (*Die Bücher der Könige*, p. 12, Leip. 1849,) holds that the mention of the *law* is by the compiler, and

that it refers only to Deut. xvii. 18. ff. So also Davidson (*Introd.* p. 617.) "this decides nothing in relation to the entire Pentateuch."

with the remark that there was nothing in it but the tables of stone, which Moses delivered to the people at Horeb; and Solomon speaks of the Temple as the place for the Ark of the Covenant, "wherein is the Covenant of the Lord which he made with our fathers, when he brought them out of the land of Egypt," ver. 21. The whole discourse is based upon the Pentateuch, as indeed is intimated in the words, "As thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant," (ver. 53,) and again, "there has not failed one word of all the precious words which the Lord spake by his servant Moses," (ver. 54.) So also the charge to abide by the statutes of Jehovah and to keep his commandments, (ver. 61).

The authority of the law even in the kingdom of the ten Tribes is clearly discerned. The institutions of Jeroboam, while diametrically opposed to the Pentateuch, are testimonies in its favour. The refusal of the Levites to take part in the new system, and the surrender of their possessions, shew the influence of the Pentateuch. Particularly the institution of "a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the same, *like to the feast which was in Judah*," (1 Kings xii. 32,) shews how thoroughly established the latter was, when the only change that could be ventured on, was as to the time of its observance, making it a month later, (Lev. xxiii. 34,) and for which some pretext might be derived from the fact, that in Northern Palestine the harvest is considerably later than in the southern districts.¹ Further evidence of the existence of the Pentateuch in the Kingdom of Israel, is presented in the acts of Elijah and Elisha. The first words of Elijah to Ahab, (1 Kings xvii. 1,) contain a special application of Deut. xi. 16, 17, (compare Lev. xxvi. 19; Deut. xxviii. 23.) His sacrifice on Carmel is arranged according to Lev. i. 6-8. Naboth's refusal to sell the inheritance of his fathers, (1 Kings xxi. 3,) rests on Lev. xxv. 23; Num. xxxvi. 8; the judicial procedure in his case, (xxi. 10,) was in accordance with Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15; Num. xxxv. 30; and the accusation rested on Ex. xxii. 28; for the punishment comp. Deut. xiii. 11; xvii. 5.

In the reign of Joash there are numerous indications of adherence to the Mosaic ordinances. The Levites keep watch

¹ Pictorial Bible, vol. ii., p. 294. Lond. 1849.

at the sanctuary (2 Kings xi. 6; xii. 9). The king, at his coronation, received from the High Priest the crown and *the testimony*, הָעֵדוּת, xi. 12; (comp. Deut. xvii. 18-20)—by which, according to Davidson, “is meant a book in which the Mosaic precepts were contained. But,” he adds, as usual, “there is no evidence that this was the present Pentateuch.”¹ There can be no doubt, however, from the sequel, that this does refer to the Pentateuch.² Amaziah, it is said, in 2 Kings xiv. 6, did not put to death the children of the murderers of his father, according to the law, Deut. xxiv. 16. Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent (Num. xxi. 5-10), which had become an object of idolatry, 2 Kings xviii. 4. The account given in 2 Kings xxii. of the finding of the book of the law by the priest Hilkiah, in Josiah’s reign, requires some notice, because of the inference of some of the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, that up to this time nothing had ever been known of such a book. The falsity of this, however, fully appears from the narrative itself. The words, “I have found the book of the law” (ver. 8), designate it as one already sufficiently known. Further, the conduct of the king and of the court is inexplicable, if they only now, for the first time, heard of the book: there is no astonishment manifested at the existence of the book, but only at its contents, and the long disobedience to its precepts (vv. 11-13). It was at once recognised as a book of sacred authority, and as the Mosaic law.³

The references to the Pentateuch in the books of Chronicles need not be adduced; for they are so very explicit,—the opening chapters, indeed, being a recapitulation of the history as given in Genesis,—that the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch can only get rid of these testimonies by denying also the authenticity of the Chronicles. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah, again, which continue the history after the restoration, make mention of the present Pentateuch to a degree, as De Wette admits, “as certain as it is frequent.” See Neh. viii. 14; ix. 3, and particularly ix. 6-23, which contains

¹ Introduction to the O. Testament, p. 618.

³ Delitzsch, Die Genesis, pp. 9, 10; see also Hävernick, Einleit. I. ii., 534-

² See Hävernick, Einleitung, I. ii. 543. E. T., pp. 407-413. 531, 532. E. T., p. 404.

an epitome of the history of the Pentateuch. This period of Israelitish history, however, in various respects confirms the evidence supplied, though more scantily, by the earlier history regarding the institutions, and the authority of the law of Moses. For if these testimonies are of too recent a period to be in themselves of equal value with such as are deducible from the earlier books, they indirectly greatly enlarge them. The restoration of that which constituted the very foundation of the national life and polity would necessarily furnish the historian with greater occasion for referring to it by name¹ and of describing the nature of its requirements; and in like manner the same circumstance would have imposed upon the chief agents in the work of reconstruction the necessity of examining carefully the Law itself, in order fully to carry out its requirements. Accordingly, after the restoration, everything, so far as circumstances admitted, is seen to be arranged upon the old model; and the people, so far from yielding to the customs and practices which they must have witnessed in their exile, cleave more strongly than at any former period of their history to the pure and simple institutions of the Law, acknowledging at once its paramount authority, not as a newly introduced, but a revived, time-honoured rule. Thus, to give only one instance, on the return of the first company from captivity, they straightway set about the restoration of the sacrifices and festal seasons, "as it is written in the law of Moses, the man of God." They "offered burnt-offerings morning and evening. They kept also the feast of tabernacles, as it is written, and offered the daily burnt-offerings by number, according to the custom, as the duty of every day required," &c. (Ezra iii. 2-50).

But there is notice of another incident of this period (Ezra ix. x.), which is far more decisive of the authority conceded to the Mosaic law than anything connected merely with the restoration of the ancient national institutions, or the public forms of worship, because showing, not only the view of the rulers, but of the community at large, in a matter which intimately concerned their personal and family relations. This was a great social reformation, which rendered necessary

¹ Davidson (Introd., p. 618) admits that in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah the allusions are to the Pentateuch as it now exists.

the immediate repudiation of their heathen wives. In this transaction it deserves particular notice how concerned the rulers were at the evil which they now proposed to remedy: it was felt to be a most culpable violation (ix. 10-12) of an express commandment (Ex. xxiii. 32; Deut. vii. 3). It is also noticeable with what alacrity the people seconded the wishes of the authorities, and how readily the transgressors submitted, more especially considering their numbers, and the countenance which the practice had received among the rulers themselves.

§ 2. *References to the Pentateuch in the Poetical Books.*

The poetical literature of the age of David and Solomon, with the subsequent compositions which constitute a portion of the book of Psalms, afford ample testimony, not only to the existence of the Pentateuch, but also to the influence which it exercised on the authors of these several works. The Psalms, in particular, as may be seen from that which fitly introduces the collection, are a product of the spiritual life of Israel begun and sustained by the revelations made in the law, whose varied excellencies form the theme of so many of these sacred odes, as for example, Ps. xix. 8, sq., cxix, and with the nature and contents of which, both historical and doctrinal, their authors manifest the greatest familiarity.

First, as regards the historical contents of the Pentateuch, the references in the Psalms in particular are numerous and explicit. Thus the history of the creation is repeatedly noticed. Ps. viii. is a commentary, or rather paraphrase, of Gen. i. 26. In Ps. xix. 1, there is a reference to Gen. i. 6, 8; in Ps. xxiv. 1, 2, to Gen. i. 2, 9, 10, 22; and in Ps. xxxiii. 6, to Gen. ii. 1. The arrangement of the heavenly luminaries is described in Ps. cxxxvi. 7, 9, in the very words of Gen. i. 16; while Ps. civ. is a poetical echo of the whole history of the creation, the description generally following the succession of the several days as in Genesis. A reference to the river of Eden, (Gen. ii. 10,) is found in Ps. xxxvi. 8, [9], נַחַל עֲדֵנִיךָ "the river of thy pleasures." The deluge is referred to in Ps. xxix. 10, where it is intimated that the Lord sat as king, לַמֶּבּוֹל "at the flood." The term מַבּוּל is used only of the flood in Gen. vi.

17; vii. 6, 7, &c., and had ceased at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch to be a common noun.¹ The overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah is also plainly alluded to, Ps. xi. 6. God "will rain fire and brimstone," comp. Gen. xix. 24.

But much more numerous, as might naturally be supposed, are the notices of the early history of Israel. The history of the patriarchs and of God's wonderful dealing towards them was a common theme of the Psalmists' meditations. Thus in Ps. cv. is given an epitome of the early Israelitish history from God's covenant with Abraham, including a notice of the sufferings of the people in Egypt, the plagues attending their deliverance, their journey through the desert until their entrance into the promised land. The history of Israel in Egypt and in the wilderness is also fully noticed in Ps. cvi. 6-33; cxxxv. 8-14; cxxxvi. 10-15. But of more importance are the notices in the strictly Davidic Psalms, as in Ps. lxxviii, where reference is made in ver. 7-10 to the manner in which God led the people through the wilderness, His giving them the law at Sinai, His feeding them with manna—"a rain of gifts." So also Ps. lxxviii., which, though not the work of David, is undoubtedly a production of that age, contains many allusions to the transactions of the Mosaic period. In ver. 5-8 there is reference to the passages in the Pentateuch which enjoined the people to transmit the law to their posterity, as Ex. xiii. 14; Deut. iv. 9, 23; in ver. 12-16 a brief notice of God's doings in Egypt and the wilderness; in ver. 17-20, Israel's refractory conduct; in ver. 21-31, the wrath of God which such conduct procured, with a fuller account in ver. 43-53 of the wonders done in Egypt, and the deliverance of Israel. "If," as Hengstenberg remarks, "this Psalm undoubtedly belongs to the age of David, it is evident that important results flow from it, bearing on the criticism of the Pentateuch. Those references to the Pentateuch, and that too as to the generally known and recognised book of national religion, by which all the Psalms of David's time are pervaded, occur here in unusual numbers, and in a peculiarly literal manner—a circumstance sufficiently accounted for by the length and character of the Psalm. Should any one be still disposed to maintain that the Penta-

¹ Tuch, Kommentar üb. die Genesis, p. 165. Hengstenberg, Psalms i. 482.

teuch in David's time did not exist in a *complete state*, and was not generally *acknowledged*, (which last presupposes its composition by Moses), he will find materials enough in this Psalm to show him that such an opinion is utterly untenable."¹

But it is unnecessary further to multiply obvious references of this kind, which are at once apparent to the reader, but which the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch nevertheless evade by assigning to some late period as the exile, the compositions in which such references occur, as is done by De Wette with regard to the Psalm last referred to.² Some notice, however, must be taken of another class in which the relation, if at first less perceptible, is on examination even more striking. Thus in Psalm xviii. 16, "He sent from above, He took me, *He drew me out of many waters*," there is a marked allusion to the preservation of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter, Ex. ii. 10, "And she called his name Moses, and said, because I drew him out of the water." That David in his deliverance marks himself as another Moses, is evident, especially from the use of מִיַּדַּיִם which occurs nowhere except in these two passages,³ besides which, this Psalm contains numerous allusions to the facts, and imitations of the language, of the Pentateuch. Thus, ver. 13, "The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice; hailstones and coals of fire," may be compared with Ex. ix. 23, "The Lord sent thunder (קָלָתָּ נָתַן קוֹלָם) gave voices,) and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground." So in ver. 14, "discomfited them," is said in reference to Ex. xiv. 24, "And God troubled (וַיַּדְּרִיב) the hosts of the Egyptians" in their attempt to pass the Red Sea. In the prayer of David, Ps. lv. 15, for the destruction of the wicked, the expressions, "let death seize upon them, let them go down alive into hell: for wickedness is in their dwellings and among them," are evidently taken from the account of the destruction of the company of Korah, (comp. Num. xvi. 32, 33,) for the Psalmist in ver. 19 grounds his confidence of present interposition upon what God had done in the days of old.

¹ Commentary on the Psalms, ii. 452.

² De Wette, Commentar üb. die Psalmen, p. 456. Heidelb. 1836.

³ Hengstenberg, Com. on Psalms, i. 303.

In short, it is no exaggeration to say, that there is scarcely a subject of importance in the Pentateuch, which is not in some way or other referred to in the Psalms. Allusions to the incidents of the Mosaic period in particular, are so frequent, that they embrace almost every striking event. In addition to those already enumerated, may be noticed the leadership of Moses and Aaron, (Ps. lxxvii. 20); the institution of the Passover in connexion with the Exodus, (Ps. lxxxi. 3-5); the miserable condition and labours of Israel in Egypt, (ver. 6, 7); with the first clause of ver. 6: "I removed from the burden his shoulder," comp. Ex. vi. 6: "I the Lord bring you out from under the burden of the Egyptians;" and the incident of Meribah, ver. 7; comp. Ex. xvii. 1 sq. The cloudy pillar, and the Divine communications which proceeded from it to Moses, are referred to in Ps. xcix. 7; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 9.

The law, too, is not only frequently alluded to as the subject of the Psalmists' study and meditation, but is also described as a written document, (מִגִּלָּה, Ps. xl. 7, [8,]) "the volume," or "roll-book."¹ "The ground," as Hengstenberg remarks, "which some have found against the reference to the Pentateuch, from the want of the article, is of no force, since the article is more rare in poetry, which is fond of brief and ornate expressions, than in prose, and might the more readily be dispensed with here, since, in the time of David, when no other sacred book existed, every one would at once understand what was meant by the roll-book."² But the existence of such a document as the present Pentateuch is placed beyond a doubt³ by the close imitations of its language, even if there were no other testimony. Thus the language of David's prayer, in Ps. iv. 6: "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us," rests on the Levitical blessing in Num. vi. 26: "The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee;" while the conclusion of the Psalm, "for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety," contains a reference to Lev. xxv. 18, 19, the Psalmist appropriating to himself the promises

¹ Rosenmüller: "In volumine libri sc. legis), i.e. Pentateuchi."

² Com. on Psalms ii. 72.

³ Davidson (Introd. p. 618): "We look upon it as a probable thing that the entire Pentateuch, as it now is, existed in the reign of David."

which primarily pertained to Israel. With Ps. xliii. 3, "Let them bring me to thy holy hill and to thy dwelling," comp. Ex. xv. 13; and with Ps. lx. 12, "In God we will do valiantly," comp. Num. xxiv. 18,—*"Israel shall do valiantly."* In the superscription of Ps. xviii., the form of introduction to the song of Moses, in Deut. xxxi. 30, is imitated. But more striking is the parallel between Ps. lxxxi. 9, 10, and the introduction to the Decalogue with the first commandment, (Ex. xx. 23). With the language of the Psalm, (ver. 9), "Let there not be among thee another God; and thou shalt not worship a God of the strangers," may also be compared Deut. xxxii. 12: "The Lord alone did lead him, and there was not with him one God of the stranger;" while the expression, "who led thee out of the land of Egypt," (ver. 10,) is a literal imitation of Deut. xx. 1. Verse 16 of the same Psalm: "He would feed them with the fat of the wheat, and out of the rock would I satisfy thee with honey," is, as to its first clause, from Deut. xxxii. 14, "the fat of the wheat," and its second clause, from ver. 13 of the same chapter, "and he made him (Israel) to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock." Various other examples might be given of these imitations, but the above will suffice.

But of more importance than even these numerous references to the Pentateuch, expressed or implied, is the moral and religious disposition manifested in the Psalms, and which unquestionably must have been the result of that "meditation" and "delight" in the Law of the Lord, which, according to Ps. i. 2, characterised the godly man. The deep consciousness of guilt, the acknowledgment of and lamentation for sin; and again, the comfortable assurance of forgiveness and reconciliation with God, so frequently met with in these compositions—the undoubted fruits of this meditation—prove not merely the existence of the law, but also the acquaintance which the pious Israelites had with its deep import; while their conviction of the need of further instruction into its mysterious character is fully shewn by the prayer, "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law," (Ps. cxix. 18).

The Proverbs of Solomon are, not less than the Psalms, though in a different aspect, the product of reflection on the

Divine revelation contained in the law, and the consideration of the individual character as related to that rule of life, manifested in the experience of Israel. From the peculiar character, however, of the composition, this book cannot be expected to contain many direct references to the Pentateuch, either to its narratives or enactments, and yet such are by no means wanting. Thus, Prov. viii. 22, &c., shows manifestly an acquaintance with the history of the creation; ver. 27, **עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם**, "upon the face of the deep;" (comp. Gen. i. 2;) and ver. 29 describes the separation of the sea and the dry land. The frequent comparisons to "the tree of life" (chap. iii. 18; xi. 30; xv. 4) rest, no doubt, on Gen. ii. 9. In chap. xxii. 10, "Cast out, **נִרְשָׁ**, the scorner and contention shall go out," there is probably an allusion to the expulsion of Ishmael, Gen. xxi. 10. The language of chap. i. 12 is probably founded on the account of the destruction of the company of Korah, Num. xvi. 30, 33.

The law itself is referred to as **מִצְוָה** "the commandment," in Prov. xix. 16, where also occurs, applied to the transgressor, the term **יִמָּח**, the well-known threatening of the Mosaic law.¹ Several of the ordinances of that law are also recognised; as the duty of presenting the first fruits to the Lord, chap. iii. 9; while the direction regarding the commandments, in chap. iii. 3; vii. 3, "Write them upon the table of thy heart," is in evident allusion to the tables of stone on which the Decalogue was written; (comp. Jer. xxxi. 30). The latter clause of chap. xxix. 24, "Whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul: *he heareth cursing and bewrayeth it not*," **אֵלֶּה יִשְׁמַע** **וְלֹא יִגִּיד** is to be explained from Lev. v. 1.² In chap. xxxi. 3 there is a reference to the law of the king, in Deut. xvii. 17.

There are also various expressions taken from the Pentateuch. Thus the frequently occurring term, **נֶפֶס**, chap. ii. 22, xv. 25, &c., found also in the same connexion in Ps. lii. 7, is taken from Deut. xxviii. 63. With chap. xxiii. 29, **חִבְלֹת עֵינַיִם**, the dark red colour of the eyes through excess of wine, comp. **חִבְלֵי עֵינַיִם כִּינִין** in Gen. xlix. 12.

The other writings of Solomon, Ecclesiastes and the Song

¹ Bertheau, Die Sprüche Solomo's. ² Ibid., p. 106.
p. 74. Leip. 1847.

of Songs, contain but few references to the Pentateuch, yet in neither are they wholly wanting. With Eccles. iii. 20; xii. 7 comp. Gen. iii. 19; and with chap. v. 4 comp. Num. xxx. 2. The Song of Solomon shows an acquaintance at least with the book of Genesis, by the mention it makes of Mahanaim¹ in chap. vi. 13 [vii. 1]—"What will ye see in the Shulamite? As it were the company of Mahanaim," בְּמַחֲלֵת הַמַּחֲנִיִּים; comp. Gen. xxxii. 12: "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them he said, This is God's host; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim."

The expectation of finding any references in the book of Job to the Pentateuch, the Mosaic history, and institutions, will of course depend on the date that may be assigned to that composition,—a question which it would be foreign to the present subject to discuss. If the book of Job is an earlier composition than the Pentateuch, of course it can contain no reference to the latter, or to any incident connected with the Mosaic period; and any notice of primeval or patriarchal times can apply only to the state of things described in Genesis, whose history, indeed, it would not be difficult to shew, it illustrates and confirms, making allowance, however, for the difference of scene, in the one case chiefly Palestine and Egypt, and in the other Arabia or the land of Uz. References to man's fall and its attendant circumstances are supposed to occur in Job xxxi. 33; xii. 16; xxvi. 13. But if, upon the whole, there are few direct allusions to the early history of mankind as given in Genesis, the general features of patriarchal times and manners, as described in the two books, bear a remarkable similarity.

§ 3. *References to the Pentateuch in the Prophetic Writings.*

It is in the discourses and writings of the prophets, whose chief function it was to impress upon the people their duty to Jehovah, by observing His worship and ordinances, and who, in the accomplishment of this object, appealed to the law and testimony, and applied to their own times the promises and

¹ Delitzsch, *Die Genesis*, p. 14.

threatenings revealed and realized in the early history of Israel, that the more direct testimonies to the Pentateuch may naturally be expected. And, indeed, so numerous are these references, both historical and philological, not only in the prophets of the kingdom of Judah, but also in such as Amos and Hosea, who exercised their functions in the kingdom of Israel, that only a selection can be here presented, and as nearly as possible in chronological order.

1. *References to the Historical Transactions of the Pentateuch.* Amos, (i. 11,) in his denunciation of punishment on Edom, assigns as the reason: "Because he did pursue his brother with the sword," &c., (בְּחֶרֶב, comp. Gen. xxvii. 40,) assuming as known the relationship of Esau and Jacob: so also Obadiah, ver. 10: "For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee," (see Gen. xxvii. 41). The deliverance of Israel from Egypt, the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, and the destruction of the Amorites, (Num. xxi. 24,) are mentioned in Amos ii. 9, 10. In Hosea xi. 8, there is a reference to the destruction of the cities of the plain, (Gen. xix. 25; comp. Deut. xxix. 22). The same prophet makes also various allusions to the history of Jacob. Thus Hos. xii. 3, [4,] "He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God." For the first incident here referred to, see Gen. xxv. 26; and for the second, Gen. xxxii. 28 [29]; the later occurrence at Penuel, and that at Bethel are also noticed in ver. 4 [5]. "Yea, he had power over the angel and prevailed; he wept and made supplication to him: he found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us." Comp. Gen. xxxii. 28 [29]: "As a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." Again, Jacob's flight to Syria, and his servitude for a wife, are referred to in Hos. xii. 12 [13]. Israel's deliverance from Egypt, as God's "son," (comp. Ex. iv. 22, 23,) is adverted to in Hos. xi. 1, and as effected by the hand of a "prophet," (chap. xii. 13 [14,]) as Moses styles himself in Deut. xviii. 18. Israel's following of Baal-Peor (Num. xxv. 3) is also noticed in Hos. ix. 10.

The references in Isaiah to the historical statements of the Pentateuch are equally precise, and owing to the greater extent of the book, still more numerous. The notice of the

unblushing sin of Sodom in Isa. iii. 9, points so clearly to Gen. xix. 5, that even Hitzig concludes that the prophet must have read that narrative.¹ The destruction of Sodom is adverted to in Isa. i. 9, xiii. 19; "the very small remnant," in the former passage, is in evident allusion to the prayer of Abraham, (Gen. xviii. 24-32,) and the Divine promise, that if even ten righteous were found in Sodom, it would have averted the judgment. Abraham and Sarah, the ancestors of Israel—Abraham called alone, but blessed and increased by God—are facts noticed in Isa. li. 2. In chap. xxiv. 18: "The windows from on high are open," there is a reference to the history of the deluge, (Gen. vii. 11); and in chap. liv. 9, there is an express comparison with the Noachian covenant. The immigration into Egypt is noticed in chap. liii. 4. The deliverance of Israel from Egypt is introduced so frequently by Isaiah, and with the enumeration of so many circumstances—for example, the plague of flies, (chap. vii. 18)—as to constitute one of his peculiarities. Not only is there allusion to the passage of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv.) in Isa. xi. 15, 16, but the song of thanksgiving in chap. xii. is also a reference to Ex. xv. "Here also," says Hitzig, "the parallel with the departure from Egypt is kept up, as the rescued fugitives at that time likewise praised Jehovah in a hymn; and not only does the expression *כִּי נִאֲוֶה עֲשָׂה*, in ver. 5, point to Ex. xv. 1; but the whole sentence in ver. 24 is taken from Ex. xv. 2."² In Isa. x. 24, "Lifting up the staff in the way of Egypt," may refer to the Egyptian oppression of Israel—so Knobel; or to the dividing of the Red Sea by the uplifted rod of Moses. There is a clear allusion to the latter circumstance in ver. 26.³ In Isa. lii. 12, "For ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight: for the Lord will go before you; and the God of Israel will be your rereward," are numerous allusions to the earlier history of Israel; "some of which," as Alexander observes, "consist in the adaptation of expressions with which the Hebrew reader was familiar, but which must, of course, be lost in a translation. Thus the hasty departure out of Egypt is not only recorded as a fact in the Mosaic history,

¹ So also Tuch, Genesis, p. lxxxix.

³ Knobel, Der Prophet Jesaja er-

² Der Prophet Jesaja übersetzt u. klärt, p. 78. Leip. 1843.
ausgelegt, p. 151. Heidelb. 1833.

(Ex. xi. 1, xii. 33, 39,) but designated by the very term here used, *הַפֶּחַח*, (Ex. xii. 11; Deut. xvi. 3,) meaning terrified and sudden flight. So also *הֶלֶךְ* and *מַצָּחֵף* are military terms familiar to the readers of the ancient books, (see Num. x. 25; Josh. vi. 9, 13.) There is likewise an obvious allusion to the cloudy pillar going sometimes before, and sometimes behind the host, (Ex. xiv. 19, 20,) and possibly to Moses' poetical description of Jehovah, as encompassing Israel with His protection, (Deut. xxxii. 10). These minute resemblances are rendered still more striking by the distinction which the prophet makes between the two events. The former exodus was hurried and disorderly; the one here promised shall be solemn and deliberate."¹ In Is. xlvi. 21, the imagery is taken from the history of the miraculous supply of water in the desert: "And they thirsted not when he led them through the deserts: he caused the waters to flow out of the rock for them; he clave the rock also, and the waters gushed out," (see Ex. xvii. 6; Num. xx. 11; and comp. Ps. lxxviii. 15). But the most striking description of the Exodus—the passage of the Red Sea, and relative circumstances under the leadership of Moses—is found in Isa. lxiii. 11-14.²

In the prophecies of Micah, who was a contemporary of Hosea and Isaiah, there are various references to historical statements of the Pentateuch. In Mic. v. 5, [6], Assyria is named "the land of Nimrod," in reference to the statement in Gen. x. 10, and thus is explained the somewhat ambiguous expression in that passage. The redemption from Egypt is in Mic. vi. 4, mentioned in connexion with Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. With the words, "I redeemed thee out of the house of servants," compare Ex. xiii. 3; xx. 20. The wonderful interposition of God in the Exodus is noticed in Mic. vii. 15. The consultation of Balak with Balaam for the destruction of Israel as recorded in Num. xxii.-xxiv., is, as Tuch observes,³ noticed in Mic. vi. 5, "O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal." The words, "from Shittim to Gilgal," are not to be construed with those

¹ Alexander, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. 774. Glasgow, 1848.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 310-312.

³ *Die Genesis*, p. lxxxix.

immediately preceding, but there is an ellipsis of *מה היה* *what happened*, and *זכר*, *remember* is to be repeated from the first clause of the verse. There was a peculiar propriety in mentioning these two places in an account of God's kindness to his people. *Shittim* was the locality where, on account of their connexion with the Midianites, there was a great destruction of the Israelites. Yet, notwithstanding their great evil, the Lord spared them as a people, and brought them to Gilgal, the other place mentioned, because the first station within the promised land.¹ In chap. vii. 20, God's covenant with, and promises to, the Patriarchs are referred to: "Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old." In Habakkuk, (iii. 3,) there is manifestly an allusion to the theophany which accompanied the giving of the law, the language being a close imitation of Deut. xxxiii. 2.²

That the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel shew an intimate acquaintance with the Pentateuch, is a fact fully admitted by De Wette³ and other opponents of its genuineness; but this appears not so much from the number of direct references to its contents, historical or legislative, which in the case of Jeremiah in particular are comparatively few, as from the style and whole manner of expression, showing that they had largely imbibed the spirit of the law. Of the references in Jeremiah to the historical transactions of the Pentateuch, the following may be adduced. The overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, chap. l. 40, the notice of the Exodus and wandering in the wilderness in chap. ii. 2, 6; the Sinaitic covenant made with the people after they had come out of Egypt, chap. xi. 4, 5; the concluding words of ver. 5, "Amèn, O Jehovah!" are the response of the prophet in the phraseology of Deut. xxvii. 26. God's kindness to Israel in the wilderness⁴ is referred to in Jer. xxxi. 2, 3, and their breach of the covenant is noticed in

¹ Henderson, *The Minor Prophets*, p. 256. Lond. 1845.

³ *Einleitung*, § 126b., p. 201.

² Delitzsch, *Der Prophet Habakkuk*, p. 143. Leip. 1843.

⁴ Henderson, *The Prophet Jeremiah*, p. 168. Lond. 1851.

ver. 32. Moses' intercessions for Israel are alluded to in chap. xx. 1, compare Ex. xxxii. 11.

In Ezekiel, reference is made to the following among other particulars. Eden, its precious stones and cherubic figures, Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14; its goodly trees, chap. xxxi. 8, 9. The twelve rods with the names of the several princes of the tribes written thereon, (Num. xvii. 2,) probably gave rise to the instruction given to the prophet in chap. xxxvii. 16. In Ezek. xx. 5-26, is an extended notice of God's appearance in behalf of Israel in Egypt, his dealings with them in the wilderness, and his sparing them notwithstanding their repeated provocations.

2. *References to the civil and ritual Enactments of the Pentateuch.* In the prophecies of Amos frequent mention is made of the law and its precepts. In chap. ii. 8, reference is made to the law which prohibited the retention over night of "pledged raiment:" "And they lay themselves down upon pledged clothes by every altar." Compare Ex. xxii. 25, 26, [26, 27.] "If thou take at all thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it to him by that the sun goeth down." Deut. xxiv. 12, "And if the man be poor thou shalt not sleep upon his pledge." The law respecting the Nazarite (Num. vi. 3,) was known in the kingdom of Israel, for it is adduced as a charge that they caused such as were thus devoted to the Lord to violate their vows: "I raised up of your young men for Nazarites. . . . But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink," Amos ii. 11, 12. The feasts, too, prescribed in the Pentateuch, were celebrated in the kingdom of Israel. Thus chap. v. 21, 22, "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt-offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the thank-offerings of your fat beasts." The term עֶצְרָה is used in the Pentateuch to designate the last solemn day of the feast of tabernacles, (Num. xxix. 35; Lev. xxiii. 36;) as also the last day of the feast of the Passover, (Deut. xvi. 8). The observance of the feast of the New Moon was attended by a cessation from work equally with the Sabbath, for the usurers were impatient until these days were ended, which required the suspension of business, Amos viii. 5. In

chap. iv. 4, mention is made of morning sacrifices, (Num. xxviii. 3,) and the triennial tithe, (Deut. xiv. 28 ; xxvi. 12.) And verse 5, has reference to the regulation in Lev. vii. 13, as to offering leavened bread with the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and mention is also made of free-will offerings, נִדְבֹת, Lev. xxii. 18 ; Deut. xii. 6.

These testimonies as to the external observance at least of the ordinances of the law in the kingdom of Israel, are amply confirmed by the evidence supplied in the prophecies of Hosea. This prophet refers to the law and its manifold requirements as a documentary revelation: "I have written to him the great things (בְּרַ the *myriad*,) of my law, but they were counted as a strange thing," Hos. viii. 12. "Here the idea of number is evidently designed to express the abundant provisions God had made in his written law, and its enforcement by the prophets, against the commission of idolatry."¹ In chap. ix. 5 it is asked, "What will ye do in the solemn day (לְיוֹם מוֹעֵד) the *day of assembling*), and in the day of the feast of the Lord?" This passage proves that the feasts generally, as already intimated, in chap. ii. 11, and also the Passover, the feast *proper*, were celebrated in Israel. So also of the Feast of Tabernacles, which Von Bohlen² and others strangely maintain originated only in the time of Nehemiah: "And I that am the Lord thy God, from the land of Egypt, will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles as in the days of the solemn feasts," Hos. xii. 9, [10]. There is here a distinct reference to Lev. xxiii. 43: "That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God."

If such evidences can be adduced of the knowledge and practice of the law in the kingdom of Israel, where, from the idolatrous disposition and conduct both of princes and people, there would naturally be very strong motives to silence and set aside its testimonies and admonitions, it is surely to be expected that evidence no less explicit will be found in the productions of the prophets of Judah, where the theocratic principles were more carefully adhered to. This is accordingly

Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, p. 49.

² *Die Genesis*, Einleit. § 18, p. cxi.

found to be the case, although this more attentive observance of the ordinances of the law may be supposed to have given less occasion for references to it.

Joel, one of the earliest of the prophets, shows his high estimate of the ceremonial law, by representing it as the chief punishment of Judah in the threatened calamities that the sacrifices could no longer be presented, and that the priesthood, Jehovah's ministers, must mourn, (chap. i. 9.) And in immediate connection with this, he adds, (ver. 10,) that the supplies of corn, wine, and oil, the first fruits of which belonged to Jehovah, should cease, in evident allusion to Deut. xxviii. 51. Hence he calls to the priests (ver. 13,) "Gird yourselves, and lament, ye priests, howl, ye ministers of the altar; come, lie all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God: for the meat-offering and the drink-offering is withholden from the house of your God."

Isaiah mentions "the law of the Lord" in a way which clearly points to the Pentateuch. "That is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord," Isa. xxx. 9; comp. Deut. xxxii. 20, "Children in whom is no faith." The prophet's acquaintance with the ritual institutions of the Pentateuch clearly appears from various passages where he intimates that the very rites of Divine appointment are irksome to God when connected with the practice of sin. Thus, in chap. i. 14, is noticed the multiplicity of sacrifices, showing a punctilious observance of the forms of the Mosaic ritual, the particular animals admitted in the burnt offering, the fat and the blood as the chief constituents of the sacrifice; in ver. 13 the bloodless offerings are enumerated; and in ver. 14 the sacred seasons, as "new moons and Sabbaths;" but by none of these observances was acceptable service rendered to God. So also that remarkable passage, Isa. lxvi. 3, "the first clause of which consists of four similar members, in each of which are coupled a form of sacrifice under the Mosaic law, and an offering which, according to that law, was inadmissible and even revolting."¹ The language is eminently that of the law. In Isa. lviii. 6, there is an allusion to the detention of Hebrew servants after seven years' service,

¹ Alexander. *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. 948.

contrary to the provisions of the law, (Ex. xxi. 2; Lev. xxv. 39; Deut. xv. 12.)

The prophet Micah (chap. i. 7,) alludes to the law in Deut. xxiii. 10, which prohibited the hire of an harlot from being brought into the house of the Lord. In chap. vi. 6 it is asked, "Shall I come before the Lord with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old?" comp. Lev. ii. 1, 15; ix. 2, 3.

In the prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, there are numerous references to the law, particularly in the latter, who brings many charges against his expatriated countrymen of their transgressing its various requirements. Thus Ezek. xviii. abounds with references to precepts of the law; in particular, ver. 6-8 mention several matters expressly prohibited in Lev. xviii. 20; xx. 18; Ex. xxii. 26; Lev. xxv. 36, 37. The same things are repeated again and again in this chapter. In Ezek. xx. 11, mention is made of the institutions in the wilderness, "statutes and judgments." Various breaches of these statutes are specified in chap. xxii. 7-12. In Jer. xlv. 19, comp. ver. 25, there is a reference to the law (Num. xxx. 3-17,) which required the consent of the husband to a wife's vows.¹ Jeremiah speaks of the priests as those who handle the law, yet complains that they knew not Jehovah, (Jer. ii. 8); nor knew they his law: they perverted its meaning, and so turned it into falsehood, (chap. viii. 8.) It was in reference to such a state of matters, and for correcting the erroneous notions which prevailed as to the value of mere external rites, that Jeremiah states that God gave no commandment to the Israelites when He led them out of Egypt respecting sacrifices (chap. vii. 22,) a statement which at first sight appears in direct contradiction to the history of the Pentateuch, and is so taken by De Wette, but which is easily explained when viewed in connexion with the words which immediately follow, ver. 23, showing that ritual observances are regarded by God as matters of secondary importance, and are not to be put on a level with, and far less supersede, moral duties; comp. 1 Sam. xv. 22, and Hos. vi. 6.

The following special provisions of the law are adverted to by Jeremiah. The law in Ex. xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12, which

¹ Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jeremiah*, p. 348. Leip. 1841.

required that Hebrew servants should obtain their liberty at the end of seven years, is expressly quoted in xxxiv. 14. In xxxi. 5 there is a reference to the enactment in Lev. xix. 25, that the fruit of the vineyards was not to be eaten till the fifth year after the vines had been planted. This is seen in the use of the term ^{לל} which signifies *to pierce, violate, profane, treat as common or unconsecrated*.¹ In li. 51, and Lam. i. 10, there is reference to the prohibition of the Ammonites and Moabites from entering the temple, Deut. xxiii. 3.

3. *References to, and imitations of the Language of the Pentateuch*.—If the particulars already adduced, which incontestably evince a most intimate acquaintance with the historical, and at the same time show an uninterrupted observance of the civil and ceremonial institutions of the Pentateuch throughout the whole prophetic period, supply any argument for the existence of that record in its present form, a still stronger proof will be found in the numerous and marked imitations of its language by the later writers. Sometimes these verbal and idiomatic coincidences are obviously intentional, the sacred writers quoting, although not indeed with the formality of modern works, the very terms of the older record—the book of the national constitution and covenant—in order to show the fulfilment of its promises and threatenings, or to confirm and illustrate their own statements; but more frequently the language of the Pentateuch would appear to be in a manner their own, the careful study of the work having no doubt given form to their thoughts and utterances. Numerous examples of these two cases will be found among the passages subjoined, though it may be impossible to decide in every instance to which of the two classes they respectively belong. But this is of little importance, for the simple correspondence in thought or language is all that is required in the present argument.

Obadiah, probably the earliest of the minor prophets, in announcing the destruction of Edom, declares, ver 4, “though thou set thy nest (שִׁים קִנְךָ) among the stars,” &c., in evident allusion to the words of Balaam in Num. xxiv. 21. “Strong

¹ Henderson, the Prophet Jeremiah, p. 169.

is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest (בְּיָדֶיךָ) in a rock." Ver. 19 also contains an allusion to Num. xxiv. 18. Joel, the next in order of time, describes the plague of locusts in words which bear a great resemblance to the description of the Egyptian plague of locusts: "There hath not been the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations," Joel ii. 2, comp. Ex. x. 14. The consequent devastation is represented by the change from "the garden of Eden" to the desolation of a desert, ver. 3, comp. Gen. xiii. 10. This prophet's description of the Divine attributes, in chap. ii. 13, "He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil," exactly corresponds with Ex. xxxiv. 6. The last clause, "And repenteth him of the evil," is based on Ex. xxxii. 14, "And the Lord repented of the evil which He thought to do unto His people." God's bestowal of rain, "the former rain and the latter rain," (chap. ii. 23,) is expressed nearly in the words of Deut. xii. 13, 14.

The prophet Amos shows an intimate acquaintance with the phraseology of the Pentateuch. Thus chap. ii. 2, "I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the palaces of Kirioth, and Moab shall die with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." There is here a combination of Num. xxi. 28, and xxiv. 17, compare also Jer. xlviii. 45. In chap. ii. 9, the description of the strength and stature of the Amorites, is founded on the Report of the spies in Num. xiii. 32, 33. The enumeration of the miseries of Israel because of their apostasy, (chap. iv. 6-13,) is a compendium of Deut. xxviii. and Lev. xxvi. חֶסֶר לָהֶם, "want of bread," ver. 6, compare with חֶסֶר כָּל, "want of all things," in Deut. xxviii. 48, 57. חֶסֶר does not occur elsewhere. In ver. 9, the terms שִׁרְפֹּן and רֶקֶן, "mildew" and "blight," are connected together as in Deut. xxviii. 22, whence they are adopted in Solomon's intercessory prayer, 1 Kings viii. 37. Ver. 10, "I have sent among you *the pestilence* after the manner of Egypt," refers to Lev. xxvi. 25. The expression, "after the manner of Egypt," rests on Ex. ix. 3, compare also Deut. xxviii. 60,

¹ Caspari, Der Prophet Obadja, pp. 65, 129, Leip. 1842. Hengstenberg, Bileam, p. 253. E. T. p. 494.

"He will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of, and they shall cleave unto thee." The repeated complaint, (ver. 6, 8, 9, 10,) "Yet have ye not returned unto me," *וְלֹא־שָׁבְתֶם עָדִי* alludes to Deut. iv. 30, [29.] "When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, in the latter days, if thou turn to the Lord thy God," *שָׁבַתָּ עַד־יְהוָה*. Chap. v. 11, "Ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them;" compare Deut. xxviii. 30, and for the last clause, ver. 39. Chap. v. 17, "I will pass through thee, saith the Lord," compare Ex. xii. 12, 13. So also God's declaration regarding Israel in chap. vii. 8; viii. 2, "I will not again pass by them any more," spare them as in Ex. xii. 23, 27. Chap. vi. 1, "Chief of the nations," *רִאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם*, compare with *רִאשִׁית גּוֹיִם* in Num. xxiv. 20.

So it is also with Hosea. Thus chap. i. 10, [ii. 1,] "Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered," is in evident allusion to the promises made to the patriarchs, to Abraham, Gen. xxii. 17, "I will multiply thy seed . . . as the sand which is upon the sea-shore;" and to Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 12, "I will make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude." See also for references to the same promises, Isa. x. 22, and Jer. xxxiii. 22. In Hosea viii. 13, "They shall return to Egypt," there is a repetition of the punishment threatened in Deut. xxviii. 68. A verbal reference to the same, with an explanation of its import, occurs also in Hos. ix. 3, "They shall not dwell in the Lord's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt; and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria." Chap. ix. 10, "I found Israel as grapes in the wilderness," compare Deut. xxxii. 10, "He found him in a desert land:" the term "found" *מָצָא* is peculiar. Chap. xi. 3, "I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them." Compare Deut. i. 31, "The Lord thy God bare thee, as a man doth bare his son:" and with the latter clause, Ex. xv. 26, "I am the Lord that healeth thee." Chap. xii. 5, [6,] "Even Jehovah, the God of hosts; Jehovah is his memorial," *יְהוָה זִכְרוֹ*. Compare Ex. iii. 15, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Jehovah,

God of your fathers, hath sent me to you ; this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial for all generations," **יְהוָה זְכוֹרִי לְדֹר וָדֹר**

Isaiah's introductory discourse is largely indebted to the Pentateuch. His address to the heavens and the earth, (chap. i. 2,) is conceived almost in the very words with which Moses begins his song, (Deut. xxxii. 1,) while the description of Israel's ingratitude and want of considerateness, (ver. 2-4,) is parallel with Deut. xxxii. 5, 6, "They have corrupted themselves ; their spot is not the spot of his children : they are a perverse and crooked generation. Do you thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise ? is not he thy father that hath bought thee ? hath he not made thee and established thee ?" Isa. xii. 2, "The Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song ; he also is become my salvation," is literally taken from Moses' song, Ex. xv. 2, "Jehovah is my strength and song ; and he is become my salvation." The intimation in chap. xxx. 17, "One thousand shall flee at the rebuke of one ; at the rebuke of five shall ye flee," is noticed by Gesenius as parallel to Lev. xxvi. 8 ; Deut. xxxii. 30 ; it is in fact a reversal of the promises there made to Israel on condition of their obedience to God. The term "Jeshurun," as a title of Israel in Isa. xlv. 2, is repeated from Deut. xxxii. 15 ; xxxiii. 5, 26, the only other passages where the term occurs. Chap. xlv. 18, "God himself that formed the earth, . . . he created it not in vain," **לֹא־תְהִי בְרָאָהּ**, in express allusion to the chaotic state described in Gen. i. 2, and at the same time an intimation that such was not the end of the creation. Another reference to the history of the creation appears in the grammatical construction of Isa. lix. 2, "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God," **הָיוּ מַכְדִּילִים בֵּינֵכֶם לְבֵין אֵל**, the identical form used to express the separation of the waters effected by the firmament, Gen. i. 6. An allusion to the account of man's creation in Gen. ii. 7, "The Lord God formed (**יָצַר**) man of the dust of the ground," occurs in Isa. lxiv. 8, "We are the clay and thou art our potter," (**יָצַר**) ; and in allusion to the latter clause of the same, "And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life," is the exhortation of Isa. ii. 22, "Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils."

Micah also contains many verbal and idiomatic expressions taken from the Pentateuch. Chap. i. 7, points to the law in Deut. xxiii. 10. Chap. ii. 5, "Therefore thou shalt have none that shall cast a cord by lot in the congregation of the Lord." Comp. Deut. xxxii. 9, "For the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance." But still more striking is the connexion between chap. vi. 8, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God;" and Deut. x. 12, "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways," &c. In chap. vii. 17, there is a reference to the sentence passed upon the serpent at the fall, Gen. iii. 14, a circumstance also adverted to in Isa. lxv. 25, the purport of which passage is to show that the sentence was irreversible. Chap. vi. 14, "Thou shalt eat, but not be satisfied;" comp. Lev. xxvi. 26; and with ver. 15, comp. Deut. xxviii. 38, 39.

The prophet Nahum shows a no less intimate acquaintance with the language of the Pentateuch. In the beginning of his prophecy (chap. i. 2), he describes God's attributes in the very words of the Decalogue: אֱלֹהִים קַנּוּא, "God is jealous," almost the very expression of Ex. xx. 5, אֱלֹהִים קַנּוּא; for the form קַנּוּא see Josh. xxiv. 19. Ver. 3, "The Lord is slow to anger, and great in power, and will not at all acquit," נִקְחָה לֹא נִקְחָה. This latter clause is taken from Ex. xxxiv. 7, while the expression, "slow to anger," אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, occurs also in the same connexion. (See also Num. xiv. 18). The last clause of ver. 3, "And the clouds are the dust of his feet," may also refer to Ex. xxxiv. 5, "And the Lord descended in the cloud."

Zephaniah also presents various imitations of the language of the Pentateuch, with special reference to Deuteronomy. Thus, it is threatened (chap. i. 13), "They shall build houses, but not inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, but not drink the wine thereof." This is taken from Deut. xxviii. 38, 39, a passage imitated, also, as already remarked, in Amos v. 11.—Chap. ii. 9, besides referring to the historical fact of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, is an imitation of Deut. xxix. 23, the punishment which the prophet denounces

against Moab being similar to that which Moses declared should overtake Israel. With chap. iii. 5, "The just Lord is in the midst thereof; he will not do iniquity,"—comp. Deut. xxxii. 4, "A God of truth, and without iniquity, just and right is he."

In Jeremiah may be instanced the following coincidences. The expression, *תהו ובהו*, applied to the earth in chap. iv. 23, points at once to the primeval chaos, Gen. i. 2.—Chap. v. 19, "So shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours," is parallel with Gen. xv. 13—Ver. 31, "Hear now this, O foolish people and without understanding: which have eyes to see, and see not; which have ears, and hear not." Comp. Deut. xxix. 4. The Divine character is described in chap. xxxii. 18, much as in Ex. xx. 5, 6.—Chap. xi. 1-8 contains many express references to the terms of the Sinaitic covenant. Thus, ver. 3, "Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of this covenant," See Deut. xxvii. 26. Ver. 4, "Obey my voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God," See Lev. xxvi. 3, 12. The terms, "iron furnace," used of the Egyptian bondage, ver. 4, are taken from Deut. iv. 20. Ver. 5, "A land flowing with milk and honey:" so described in Ex. iii. 8, Deut. vi. 3. Ver. 8 refers to Deut. xxviii. With xxiii. 17, comp. Deut. xxix. 19. Chap. xlviii. 45, 46, "A fire shall come forth out of Heshbon, and a flame from the midst of Sihon, and shall devour the corner of Moab, and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones. Woe be unto thee, O Moab! the people of Chemosh perisheth: for thy sons are taken captives, and thy daughters captives." This, with some slight variations, is taken from Num. xxi. 27, 28. The last words of ver. 45 are an imitation of part of Balaam's prophecy, Num. xxiv. 17, where *נִשְׁתַּח* for *נִשְׁתַּח* corresponds to *נִשְׁתַּח* in Jeremiah, both being from *נִשְׁתַּח* to *rage, make a tumult*.¹ Jer. iv. 4, "Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskin of your hearts," is parallel with Deut. x. 16. Chap. xix. 9 agrees, according to Hitzig,² in thought and expression very much with Deut. xxviii. 53. With xxxi. 9, "Ephraim is my first born," comp. Ex. iv. 22.

¹ Henderson. The Prophet Jeremiah. p. 237.

² Der Prophet Jeremiah, p. 152.

Ezekiel even more largely avails himself of the language of the Pentateuch. The following are a few of the more striking similarities. The expression, *אֵשׁ מִתְלַקַּחַת* in chap. i. 4, which Hävernicks takes to mean "fire rolled together," is taken from Ex. ix. 24. The form, *מוֹת תָּמוּת*, chap. iii. 18, "Thou shalt surely die," is a repetition of the primeval threatening, Gen. ii. 17; iii. 4. With the threatening in chap. iv. 16, comp. Lev. xxvi. 26; "to break the staff of bread," is one of the peculiar expressions of the Pentateuch, and which is thence adopted in Ps. cv. 16; Ezek. xiv. 13.¹ A later expression is, "to take away the stay (*מִשְׁעָן*) of bread," Isa. iii. 1. A favourite expression of Ezekiel, *גִּ' עֲזִים* or *נִאֲצוֹן עֵץ*, "the pride of power," or "of the strong ones," (chap. vii. 24; xxiv. 21; xxx. 6, 18; xxxiii. 28,) occurs elsewhere only in the Pentateuch, Lev. xxvi. 19. The expression, *בְּמֵאֵד מֵאֵד*, chap. ix. 9; xvi. 13, as an intensitive of "great," is taken from the older style of the Pentateuch, (Gen. xvii. 2, 6, 20; Ex. i. 7.) With chap. xii. 2, comp. Deut. xxix. 4, the terms of which had been already employed by Isaiah (vi. 9, 10,) to describe the state of Israel in his days, and so also by Jeremiah, (v. 21.) The Divine threatening against idolaters in chap. xiv. 8, "I will set my face against that man, and will make him a sign and a proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my people," shows that the prophet had in view Lev. xvii. 10; xx. 3. The words, "I will make him a sign and a proverb," are to be explained from Deut. xxviii. 37, "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word." Chap. xiv. 9 has, as Calvin and Hävernicks observe, a direct reference to Deut. xiii. 3. The word *נָפֵט*, and particularly in its connexion with *נֶפֶשׁ* belongs originally to the Pentateuch; comp. Lev. xxvi. 11, 15, 30, 43, 44, whence it is adopted in Ezek. xvi. 5, 45, and Jer. xiv. 19, in the sense "to loathe."² In the only other two passages, 2 Sam. i. 21; Job xxi. 10, where it occurs, both the form and use of the word are different. The expression, "His blood shall be upon him," Ezek. xviii. 13, is a legal formula from Lev. xx. 9, sq. Chap. xxxiv. 4, "With force and with cruelty *פָּרַדּוּ* have ye ruled them," comp. Lev. xxv. 43,

¹ Hävernicks, *Commentar üb. Ezechiel*, p. 63. Erlang. 1843.

² *Ibid* p. 223.

“Thou shalt not rule over him with פָּרָה, rigour.” The description of the scattered state of the Lord’s flock in chap. xxxiv. 5, 6 rests on Num. xxvii. 17, “That the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd.”

It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further, or to adduce any references to the Pentateuch from the writings of the prophets of the Restoration, as its existence at that period is admitted by all parties. But it is important to remark that the evidences in its favour, deducible from the very latest of the Hebrew writers, differ in no respect, whether as regards clearness or cogency, from the testimonies—and the number of such is very great¹—furnished in the very earliest productions. They all form parts of one whole, of which the Pentateuch constitutes the foundation,—its spirit and principles pervade the whole system. The particulars above adduced, from the historical, poetical, and prophetic writings of the Old Testament, show that they are all composed in the spirit of the law and Mosaic institutions, whether the language be that of censure or commendation, while they throughout assume the facts of the Mosaic history as the basis of the theocracy. If there be one inference from the preceding survey more conclusive than another, it is that the Pentateuch is the earliest portion of the Old Testament Scriptures. It is by the application of other tests that its absolute age can be established.

¹ Tuch (Die Genesis p. xc.,) in opposition to De Wette and Von Bohlen, who deny that there are any references to the Pentateuch in the earlier prophets, reckons that there are found

about eight hundred indications of the pre-existence of the present form of the Pentateuch in the prophets of that period.

SECT. II. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE ABSOLUTE AGE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Herbst, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, II. i., §§ 5, 6, pp. 16-24. Carlsruhe, 1842.—Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, E. T. Edin. 1845.—Raumer, *Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Canaan*. Leips. 1837.—Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, ch. i., pp. 3-98, 4th ed. Lond. 1857.

The internal aspect of the Pentateuch entirely comports with the relation which, as now shown, it holds to the other Hebrew Scriptures. It professedly forms the foundation of the national history, recording, in their proper connexion, the incidents so frequently assumed by the subsequent writers as fully acknowledged facts. It also authoritatively introduces that system of law and worship, traces of which are discernible throughout the whole of Israel's national existence, even in times when, through idolatrous rulers, every effort was made utterly to subvert it. But an examination of the work itself, besides confirming the proof of its relative age, adduced in the preceding section, shews that its composition, as likewise the reception of its institutions, belongs to a period antecedent to the Israelitish possession of Canaan, and subsequent to their departure from Egypt; in other words, that it was written during the sojourn in the wilderness.

§ 1. *Evidence that the Composition of the Pentateuch was anterior to the Settlement in Canaan.*

The possession of the land promised to the patriarchs is one great end constantly kept in view throughout the Pentateuch. Towards that, as the termination of Israel's wanderings, and the consummation of their hopes, the various lines of history and legislation are clearly seen to converge. In this respect Genesis furnishes a key to the history and peculiar economy of the subsequent books, and these again complete and elucidate the earlier statements and providential arrangements. The numerous progeny promised to Abraham have, after a series of apparent delays, been brought into existence; but the land, at the same time promised for their inheritance (Gen. xii. 1, 2, 7) is not yet possessed, although it is

distinctly in view, and preparations are being made for its conquest. Such is the scene presented in the last four books of the Pentateuch, particularly in its concluding chapters; and whatever opinion may be formed of the character of the history, the most sceptical must acknowledge that all the circumstances are in entire harmony with one another, and that the narrative is at least consistently carried out. Moses, in addressing the Israelites shortly before his death, is represented as saying: "Ye are not as yet come to the rest, and to the inheritance, which the Lord your God giveth you" (Deut. xii. 9). The whole history and legislation are in entire accordance with this statement; and if the Pentateuch be the fiction of a later age, its author, it must be admitted, has admirably sustained his part.

No doubt there are various statements in the work against which charges of anachronism have frequently been preferred, and which even some of the defenders of its genuineness are willing to view as interpolations; but however this may be, the only thing that can be alleged as at variance with the assumed scene of the composition, in the Arabian Desert, is the expressions *קִיָּמָה*, *קִיָּמָה* (Gen. xii. 8; xxviii. 14; Ex. xxvi. 22), signifying *westward*, literally "seaward," in reference to the Mediterranean, and which it is alleged could only have been used by a writer in Palestine; and also *בְּעֵבֶר הַיָּרְדֵּן*, *בְּעֵבֶר הַיָּרְדֵּן*, which it is alleged mean "the other side Jordan;" and when used, as in Num. xxxv. 14; Deut. i. 1, in reference to places on the east of that river, show that the writer's point of view was Canaan proper.

To the first of these objections the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch themselves do not seem to attach much importance, although it is brought forward by De Wette,¹ Tuch,² and Davidson.³ The answer of Keil and others to this objection is, that the geographical designations of the countries of the world may have been fixed for the Hebrew language as early as by the patriarchs.⁴ This, though pronounced by Davidson to be nugatory, is certainly not an unreasonable supposition, more especially if there be evidence for holding, with

¹ Einleitung, § 147a, p. 170.

³ Introduction to Old Testament, p.

² Kommentar üb. die Genesis, p. 621.

lxxxvii.

⁴ Keil, Einleitung, § 38, p. 153.

Gesenius,¹ and other philologists, that the Hebrew was the language of the Canaanitish races in Palestine. Certainly it is not to be supposed that the geographical designations objected to originated with the writer of the Pentateuch.

To the other expression attention has been directed from an early period; and objectors, from Spinoza downwards, have averred that it betrays a forgetfulness by the author of the position he assumed. It is unnecessary to enter into any minute discussion of this point, as a more correct acquaintance with the Hebrew language has led to the virtual abandonment of this objection. And although Hengstenberg has perhaps failed in proving satisfactorily that the expression *מֵעֵבֶר* means, in all the passages objected to, "on the other side," according to the standing geographical designation, the Hebrew point of view being Canaan proper, he clearly shows that, in its application, there is nothing indicative of inadvertence, but, on the contrary, in every instance due deliberation.² The older view, however, revived by Reinke,³ that the term denoted alike "this side," or "the other side," and was accordingly to be determined chiefly by the context, seems the more satisfactory explanation, and is obviously borne out by Num. xxxii. 19, 32, and other passages, as admitted by De Wette himself.

While reserving for subsequent consideration various alleged traces of a later age found in the Pentateuch, it is to be distinctly noted, that not only the general character and complexion of the work point to the time and place which is therein indicated as that of its composition, but that numerous particulars are explicable only on the admission of such an origin. These constitute a chain of circumstantial evidence far more cogent in a matter of this kind, it will be admitted, than any direct testimony. Without, however, entering upon an examination of the various particulars of this nature which occur in the narrative, it will suffice to notice some of the general characteristics of the work which bear on the time of

¹ Geschichte der Heb. Sprache, § 7.

Heb. Gram., § 2, 2. See also Le Clerc, De Lingua Hebraica, § 5. Bochart, Canaan, Lib. ii., cap. 1. Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i., 26, pp. 150, 151.

² Authentie, E. T., vol. ii., 256-264.

³ Beiträge, vol. iii. 329-355. Münster, 1855. So also Robinson, Bib. Res., vol. iii., p. 312. Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 986.

its composition, and show it to have been anterior to the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan.

1. Of this nature are the references to a migratory life. That the state of the Israelites was a migratory one at the time when the Pentateuch was composed, and when they were brought under the operation of its peculiar economy, is not only assumed throughout the work, but is confirmed in every possible way by its various details and arrangements. Every thing, in fact, is in entire keeping with this assumption. There are not merely the evidences of a positive character deducible from the repeated references, historical and legislative, to the camp, (Ex. xix. 17 ; Lev. iv. 12, 21 ; vi. 11,) and the directions for marching and halting, (Num. ii. ; ix. 17-23 ; x. 14-28,) and other indications of the people's living in tents ; there is also a negative evidence even more indubitable if possible, arising from the entire omission of reference to everything of a contrary character ; for instance, to houses as permanent dwellings. Houses having door posts and lintels, and also battlements or parapets on the roof, and constructed of stone and mortar, are indeed mentioned in the Pentateuch, but only in connexion with the residence of the Israelites in the land of Egypt, or their prospective settlement in Canaan, (Ex. xii. 7, 22 ; Deut. xxii. 8 ; Lev. xiv. 34, &c.)

That the Israelites dwelt at this time in tents is further confirmed, if not put beyond question, by the construction of a tent for the reception of the Ark of the Covenant, and the other instruments of their public religious service. This arrangement continued for a long time subsequent to the settlement in Canaan, and until it struck King David as unsuitable that the Ark of God should dwell within curtains, while he dwelt in a house of cedar, (2 Sam. vii. 2, 6.) It was an arrangement altogether anomalous in a settled state, and could only have originated among a migratory people.

To the same end are the minute details regulating the transportation of the Ark and its Tabernacle, the mode of setting it up and taking it down, the disposing of its various parts, with the distinct specification of the Levitical families to whom the several duties connected with this arrangement were assigned. All these details must unquestionably have been committed to writing at the time when such directions were

a matter of special concern.¹ No object whatever could be gained by incorporating into the history, even if materials existed, particulars of this sort, when the necessity for them had ceased by the settlement of the people in Canaan, and when the Ark was no longer carried about by its attendant priests or Levites. The insertion of such matters, and at such length in the Pentateuch, certainly goes far to preclude the idea of a later composition of the work, while in striking accordance with the other representations contained in it bearing on its origin.

It is the same also with various enactments and regulations, which either directly or incidently refer to the migratory condition of the Israelites at the time when they were established. Some of these laws were clearly of a provisional character, and altogether unsuitable to the state of settlement in Canaan, when the people were dispersed over the country, and such as the subsequent legislation of Deuteronomy shews to have been considerably modified or entirely repealed, (comp. *e. g.*, Lev. xvii. 3, 4, with Deut. xii. 15,) with the view of adapting the system to the changed circumstances of the people. The insertion of such temporary regulations cannot certainly have been due to any design of maintaining an appearance or favouring a deception; for it must have been apparent to an author capable of so reasoning on such a point, that any acquisition in this respect would be more than counterbalanced by the unfavourable impression it would create in respect to the authority claimed for the law.

Indeed, several laws designed to be of permanent obligation, are of such a nature that they could not have originated after the settlement in Canaan, and when a great part of the population were at considerable distances from the Tabernacle, or place of public worship. Of this nature were the regulations which prescribed that various kinds of ceremonial uncleanness, particularly that of women after child-birth, (Lev. xii. 6,) should be removed only on the personal presentation of offerings at the sanctuary. However inconsiderable the offering might be, it was an indispensable condition that it must be brought by the offerer himself—a condition, it must

¹ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol. iii., p. 292. Hävernick, *Einleitung*, I., ii., 433, E. T., p. 312.

be admitted, often attended with the greatest inconvenience, and which certainly could not tend to the profit of the priests, were it to be regarded as resting only on a fiction of later times; and even if it did, how could it secure obedience from the people? Regulations of this kind could obtain sanction only as ancient sacred ordinances, or customs, to which the mind had been habituated, and which must have originated at a time and in circumstances which made compliance with them far more easy than it subsequently became.¹

2. Further, the Pentateuch furnishes indubitable evidence of its having been written during the growth of the system, political and religious, by which the Hebrew community was governed. That this system is of very ancient date few will deny, who give any credit to the uninterrupted testimony of Jewish history. No doubt that testimony avails little with such as maintain that Israel's peculiar polity originated not with Moses, but with Ezra and Nehemiah, after the restoration, and who, in order to substantiate this foregone conclusion, must assign to that age almost the whole body of Hebrew Scripture, or pronounce as interpolations all references to the language or legislation of the Pentateuch. With more sober critics, however, Israel's peculiar polity will be regarded as dating from a very early period, and indicating at least some fundamental organization, and competent authority for procuring its acceptance. A system so comprehensive, minute, and burdensome, and yet so generally accepted, cannot have been a matter of insensible growth, but must have been introduced at once, and with an authority which commanded respect. Now the Pentateuch purports to introduce that system, and without inquiring at present into the authority claimed for it, and dealing only with the question whether the record be contemporaneous with the polity whose origin it describes, it is important to remark how every particular bears out the affirmative in a way which satisfactorily accounts for the mention of matters which, on any other supposition, must be inexplicable.

Thus there is a minuteness of details with regard to various

¹ Hävernick, *Einleitung*, I. ii., 475, 476. E. T., p. 296.

works and arrangements, which could not have the least interest to a writer who lived long subsequent to the transactions, and contemplated them from a mere antiquarian point of view, although they may have been interesting, and indeed indispensable to contemporaries.¹ The details, for instance, of the tabernacle and its furniture, the materials whereof every separate part should be composed, the numbers and proportions of the curtains and coverings, the bars and boards, the manner in which they were to be connected, and innumerable minute directions respecting all the arrangements of the structure, have all the appearance of specifications for the use of the workmen engaged in its erection, (Exod. xxv.-xl.). Unquestionably other ends were contemplated by the insertion of such matters in the Pentateuch, provided it be a genuine production of the Mosaic age; but should this be denied, no conceivable purpose could have influenced a subsequent writer in devoting so large a space to what in such a case was no other than trifling fictions. The various and minute rules as to the duties of the priests and Levites, also, clearly point to the origination of their respective functions, more especially when it is seen that some of the duties thus prescribed were only temporary, and had ceased with the entrance into Canaan, and were indeed, in some instances, superseded by others of which no mention is made in the Pentateuch, particularly the service of song, and the Levitical courses introduced by David.

But a more striking proof of the Pentateuch having been composed during the growth of the system which it founds is presented in various incidents which it records respecting little inconveniences and unforeseen occurrences, for which no provision had at the time been made, and which indicate alike incompleteness, and the working of a new and untried economy. Thus there are numerous regulations introduced only as the circumstances arise which call for them, shewing that they were the result of the practical application of the law. The system does not emerge at once as perfect or complete, suited to whatever emergency might arise, and as it would most naturally be represented by a writer living in an age

¹ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, § 435 *b*, vol. iii., 275.

when the system had been long in operation, and had adapted itself to the necessities of actual life. But here, on the contrary, it is seen, as it were, actually growing up and taking shape from the very circumstances of the people for whom it was designed, and of the place where it purports to have been promulgated.

As evidences clearly exhibiting the practical growth of the Israelitish legislation it is enough to refer to the following particulars.

(1.) The inconvenience attending the observance of the Passover, when celebrated only once in the year, as appears from the provision subsequently made for a second Passover, to remedy this, (Num. ix. 3-11.) Particularly deserving of notice is the manner in which this provision is introduced. There is first, on the approach of the appointed season, (ver. 1-3,) a repetition of the charge to keep the Passover. What rendered this charge necessary, was, that on the first celebration of this ordinance in Egypt, the law expressly bore that it should be regularly observed in the land of their inheritance, (Ex. xii. 25,) but no intimation had been given as to its being kept in the wilderness. A special warrant was accordingly requisite for that purpose. Such was here furnished. But further, since the institution of the Passover, a law had been given requiring the removal from the camp of such as might be polluted by a dead body, (Num. v. 2 ;) and hence a new question arose as to the bearing of this law on the previous command, that all should observe the Passover. It was a question, however, which Moses acknowledged himself unable to decide without further instructions; and hence the additional provision now added, that persons unable to hold the Passover on the appointed day, owing to legal disqualifications, or to their being on a distant journey, were permitted to observe it on the corresponding day of the following month.

(2.) The law of inheritance, which formed a fundamental element in the constitution. First of all it was directed that the territory about to come into the possession of the Israelites, should be apportioned among all the families, excluding the tribe of Levi, who were to be provided for otherwise, and the portions were to be assigned by lot to the several tribes and families for all time coming, (Num. xxvi. 52-56.) To this

law of tenure, that of succession was adapted, the sons were to inherit their father's patrimony, but no provision was yet made for cases where there was no male issue. When the law was first promulgated, there was a distinguished family thus circumstanced. They submitted their case to Moses, who being unable to decide the matter, "brought their cause before the Lord," (Num. xxvii. 1-5,) whereupon it was enacted, "If any man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause the inheritance to pass unto his daughter," (ver. 8,) with further directions for its disposal where direct heirs entirely failed. But this is not the only addition to the original law which arose from this particular case; directions must be given to regulate the marriage of heiresses, so as to prevent any infringement of the fundamental law of tenure through the alienation of any portion of the property assigned to the several tribes, (Num. xxxvi. 1-9.)

(3.) Another instance is the law which punished blasphemy with death. The origin of this law is recorded in Lev. xxiv. 11-16. The prohibition of blasphemy had been already declared, (Ex. xxii. 28;) but without any intimation of the penalty by which it should be visited, and not until an actual case occurred was this announced. The whole circumstances of this case, besides affording confirmation of the point for which it is more immediately adduced, furnish no less valid testimony to the correctness of the narrative. The man who utters the blasphemy is marked out by name and genealogy, he is the offspring of a mixed marriage, his father having been an Egyptian, a circumstance which of itself serves partly to account for his offence. He was forthwith arrested and imprisoned, the aggravated character of his crime being at once recognised. "They put him in ward, that the mind of the Lord might be shewed them," (Lev. xxiv. 12.) The consequence was, that he is adjudged to be put to death by stoning; and upon this follows the promulgation of a general law on the subject, (ver. 15, 16.) A further example of much the same kind occurs in Num. xv. 32-36, with respect to a Sabbath-breaker, and the punishment to be awarded in his case.

But it is unnecessary to multiply particulars of this description to prove that the composition of the Pentateuch must be referred to the period plainly indicated throughout the work

itself, as that which witnessed the introduction of the Israelitish polity; for indeed, the whole order and arrangement of the legislation being historical rather than systematic, points directly to the same end, more especially when the various ordinances are seen to be so closely interwoven with, and in a manner to grow out of the historical occurrences. A remarkable example of this is presented in the law which interdicted the use of wine or strong drink to the priests when engaged in the services of the tabernacle, (Lev. x. 8-11,) and which followed the sin and punishment of Nadab and Abihu (ver. 1, 2,) evidently with the design of preventing any similar occurrence through levity or excitement however induced. And so in numerous other cases. In short, the whole attitude of affairs as represented in the Pentateuch, is one of preparation and expectancy. The people are without any complete system of law or government, until brought under the Sinaitic legislation. Whatever institutions preceded this were only the few and simple usages inherited from patriarchal times, the existence of which however facilitated the reception of the new and more complex system superinduced upon them; and though the people were still without a proper local settlement, they are seen however to be journeying towards one, the history of the Pentateuch conducting them to its very borders.

3. To the foregoing considerations may be added some particulars evincing the author's personal participation in the transactions which he has recorded. The facts already adduced are certainly most undesigned evidences that at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch the state of the Israelites was migratory. The minute statements which regulated the mode of transporting the Ark of the Covenant, the central object of the sacred constitution of the nation, from place to place, the very structure of the tent in which it was preserved, corresponding, as far as possible, to the dwellings of the people themselves, the directions as to the order of march and halting, the provisional laws adapted to a state of encampment, and other circumstances of a migratory life, all testify to the same point. But various additional particulars may be produced confirmatory of this, and indicating that the author was a witness of the scenes, and a chief agent in the

acts, commemorated in the history of the Exodus, and the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness.

Many portions of the narrative have all the form and appearance of a journal of daily transactions, or at least a summary of such. This is discernible in the precise specification of time and place given in connexion with the more important incidents, particularly in the list of encampments in Num. xxxiii. 1-49, and with regard to which it is stated (ver. 2), "Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys;" and, indeed, the document bears all the marks of its having been written at the time thus intimated. This will be sufficiently apparent from the following observations:—First, even the contradiction alleged to exist between the statement in ver. 30, 31, according to which the Israelites journeyed from Moseroth to Bene Jaakan, and Deut. x. 6, which makes the march to have been in the reverse order, from Bene Jaakan to Moseroth, however it may be explained,¹ is certainly rather unfavourable to the assumption that the narrative is the work of a later writer, and one, of course, freely inventing the circumstances of the case, for such a writer would not, by any possibility, have admitted so glaring a discrepancy. Further, the historical notices inserted in ver. 4, 9, 14, 38, could only have proceeded from a contemporary writer, for they are natural only in such a case, bespeaking the eye-witness and the participant in the transactions recorded,—being in fact lively reminiscences summoned up in association with the names of the localities. This is particularly observable in the notice of Elim, with its "twelve fountains of water, and three-score and ten palm trees," showing how deep was the impression made by that pleasant locality on a people who, in the immediately preceding stage of their journey, had experienced the disagreeableness of Marah, where the water was such that they could not drink it, even after a journey of three days without water (Ex. xv. 22, 27). So also with respect to the notice of Rephidim (ver. 14), "where there was no water for the people to drink,"—a circumstance which led to the popular commotion against their leader, Moses, recorded in Ex. xvii. 3, 4. But not less striking is the incidental remark in

¹ Hävernicks, Einleitung, I. ii., p. 518. E. T., p. 335.

ver. 4, where mention is made of the burial of the first-born of the Egyptians, slain on the night of the Exodus—"upon their gods also the Lord executed judgment." No notice of this particular incident appeared in the history of the Exodus, although such a judgment had been plainly announced (Ex. xii. 12); and the execution of it is no less plainly assumed in the confession of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law (xviii. 11), as, indeed, it must also have furnished a chief ground for the language of Isaiah, when denouncing new judgments against Egypt: "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence." (Isa. xix. 1).

The agreement of Num. xxxiii. 40 with xxi. 1, is also remarkable, and, as Hävernicks remarks, "is a circumstance which admits of a full explanation only by supposing that we have here to do with a contemporary writer, who, still full of the occurrences of his own time, could not refrain from stating them, and felt himself prompted to point out, at least, their remarkable nature."¹

The notice in Num. xxxiii. 10, "And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea," is exceedingly natural. "We passed down," says Stanley, "between vast cliffs, white on the one side, and on the other of a black calcined colour, between which burst upon us once more the deep blue waters of the Red Sea, bright with their white foam. Beautiful was that brilliant contrast, and more beautiful and delightful still to go down upon the beach and see the waves breaking on that shell-strewn, weed-strewn shore, and promontory after promontory breaking into these waters right and left; most delightful of all, the certainty (thanks to that inestimable verse in Num. xxxiii.) that here the Israelites, coming down through that very valley, burst upon that very view—the view of their old enemy and old friend—that mysterious sea, and one more glimpse of Egypt dim in the distance, in the shadowy hills beyond it."²

The generality of travellers, after Burckhardt, find Hazeroth (Num. xi. 35) in Huderah; if this be correct, the mention twice made of the sea, in a way which seems to indicate

its proximity to the scene, is thus easily accounted for.¹ The encampment at Sinai also deserves notice. "That such a plain should exist at all in front of such a cliff, is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative, as to furnish a strong internal argument, not merely of its identity with the scene, but of the scene itself having been described by an eyewitness."²

There are various other passages which, by their simple and graphic touches of nature, shew that they must have been drawn from the very scenes, and are no fancy sketches. Without anticipating the remarks which more properly belong to the following head, it may be here observed, that no writer, merely drawing on his imagination, or following old and misty traditions, could have described the scenes and the circumstances of such mighty events as the miracles in Egypt, the Exodus, the perplexities on Pharaoh's pursuit of the fugitives, the passage of the Red Sea, commemorated in a contemporaneous song, and various incidents arising on the journey to Canaan—in the manner in which these appear in the Pentateuch, without betraying the purposed deception either through ignorance or inadvertence. Amid such a multiplicity and minuteness of details with regard to transactions so varied, and involving such a specification of dates, names of places and persons, and withal demanding such an accurate acquaintance with the physical character, peculiarities, and productions of the two great scenes of the history, so strongly contrasted in all their features, there was an absolute necessity for not only a learned, but a personal acquaintance with the subject.

§. 2. *Evidence of the Connexion of the Author of the Pentateuch with Egypt and the Arabian Desert.*

But there is not only evidence that the composition of the Pentateuch preceded the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, but also that it was written during their sojourn in the wilderness.

That Israel dwelt in Egypt previous to their possession of

¹ Stanley, Sinai and Pal., p. 82.

² Ibid. pp. 42. 43.

Canaan, is an indisputable fact, unquestioned even by the most strenuous opponents of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch or Hebrew History. The fact of such a residence is the only point which it is necessary to urge at present ; for at this stage of the inquiry it is immaterial to determine how their deliverance or expulsion, whichever it may have been, from Egypt was effected, or what period intervened between their departure from Egypt and their entrance into their future possessions ; for if it can with any probability be shewn, as above maintained, that the composition of the Pentateuch preceded the entrance into Canaan, it will naturally follow that it must be a production of this intervening period ; while, on the other hand, any independent proofs of this latter proposition will directly substantiate the results already arrived at.

The last four books of the Pentateuch plainly purport, as already remarked, to have been written during a sojourn of the Israelites in the Arabian wilderness, lying between Egypt and Canaan, and to be an account of that sojourn. The position of the people at the time is clearly but incidentally stated in Lev. xviii. 3. It is therefore necessary to examine how far the appearances presented by the narrative correspond to such representations.

i. The author's connexion with Egypt is the first point which presents itself for consideration. The acquaintance displayed by the writer of the Pentateuch with Egypt—its language, history, both physical and civil, and also its manners—is of the most intimate kind ; and this not merely as regards one particular epoch, but extending throughout a very protracted period, from the time of Abraham's brief visit, and more particularly from the migration thither of Jacob and his family to the Exodus, when the Israelites took their final departure from the land of the Pharaohs. Wherever the writer has occasion to refer in any way to Egypt, his notices are invariably correct, as is fully attested by the wonderful monuments of that land, and every other evidence extant. But as this subject will be afterwards considered in another connexion, a few only of the more incidental notices need be here adduced.

Thus the narrative of the preparations for Jacob's funeral (Gen. l.) is in strictest accordance with the customs of the

country where the patriarch passed his last days. Joseph commands his servants the physicians to embalm the body, (ver. 2). At first sight a contradiction may in this present itself regarding the persons here entrusted with the operation, and the accounts of classical writers¹ that the embalmers constituted a hereditary and distinct class. Any contradiction of this kind may be referred to the changes which may have arisen in the course of time; for it is quite natural to suppose that in earlier times, and when the process was of a simpler kind, it was performed by the ordinary physicians.² The embalming continued, according to Genesis, forty days, the period of mourning seventy days, including evidently the days of embalming, (ver. 3); and with this closely agrees the account of Diodorus, and even that of Herodotus, when closely examined.³ Joseph's application to Pharaoh for permission to go up to bury his father, made not in person, but through members of Pharaoh's household, was in accordance with the Egyptian custom, which required that such as appeared before the king should do so with shorn head and beard, (see Gen. xli. 14,) whereas one of the tokens of mourning was permitting the growth of the hair; and such was the case with Joseph. The funeral train of Jacob is an exact description of such representations on the monuments. Another remark occurring in this chapter, in connexion with the death of Joseph, is: "He was put in a coffin in Egypt," (ver. 26). The term *ῥῆμα* well expresses the peculiarly constructed *ῥῆμα*, in which, according to Herodotus,⁵ the corpse was laid.

The account of the labours to which, through the jealousy of the Egyptians at the large increase of the Israelites, the latter were subjected, furnishes many points of coincidence with what is known of Egypt from the monuments; as the fact that their chief task was the making of bricks, of which it is certain great quantities were anciently prepared in Egypt, chopped straw being mixed with the clay to give durability.⁶ Another circumstance was that in gathering in the

¹ Herod. ii. 86. Diod. Sic. i. 91.

⁴ Herod. ii. 36; Wilkinson, Anc.

² Hengstenberg, Egypt, &c., p. 67. Egyp., vol. iii. p. 357.

³ Wilkinson's Anc. Egyp., vol. v. p.

⁵ Lib. ii. cap. 86.

459, Lond. 1847; and Rawlinson's Herod., vol. ii. p. 142, Lond. 1858.

⁶ Wilkinson, Anc. Egyp., vol. i. p. 50.

Egyptian harvest, the straw was so cut as to leave much stubble, the wheat being cropped, according to Wilkinson, a little below the ear,¹ which accounts for the statement that when straw was refused, the people scattered themselves over the land in quest of stubble in its stead, (Ex. v. 12.) The work was superintended by taskmasters, officers taken from the Israelites themselves; and their labours included also "all manner of service in the field," (Ex. i. 14.) This is in striking accordance with the fact that "there is scarcely a country in which the cultivation of the land requires so much peculiarly servile labour as in Egypt."² Comp. Deut. xi. 10.

The narrative of the plagues which preceded the Exodus deserves special consideration, in connexion with this subject. The remarkable correspondence here presented by various particulars with the physical peculiarities of Egypt, is by none more readily recognised than by those against whom the present arguments are directed, although their object is thereby to reduce the plagues from the supernatural or miraculous to simply natural occurrences, exaggerated only in the description.³ Waiving all points of this kind, it is enough to accept generally the conclusions arrived at by those best acquainted with Egypt, that there exist various natural points of connexion between these plagues and the character of the country on which they were sent. Thus, for instance, gnats and flies, the productions of the third and fourth plagues, are even, on ordinary occasions, exceedingly troublesome in Egypt; and with regard to the fifth plague, which occasioned the destruction of the Egyptian cattle, the author's acquaintance with his subject is exceedingly clear, from his assigning to the horse the first place in the list in Ex. ix. 3, quite naturally, and without any remark. Boils, also, the infliction of the sixth plague, were naturally common occurrences, (Deut. xxviii. 27,) and so also tempests. In connexion, however, with this portion of the narrative, notice must be taken of one or two manifest references to the season of the year. First, the cattle were at the time in the field, (Ex. ix. 19, 21.) Writers on Egypt say this is only the case in the months of January, February, March, and April, while for the rest of the

¹ Anc. Egypt., vol. iv. p. 85.

² Hengstenberg, Egypt, p. 85.

³ See above, B. i. chap. ii. sect. ii., § 2., pp. 79-82.

year the cattle are supplied with dry fodder.¹ Again, the remark, (ver. 31, 32,) "and the flax and the barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat and the spelt were not smitten, for these come to maturity later." Flax and barley are generally ripe in March, wheat and spelt are a month later. The period of the year, deduced from this incidental remark as to the state of the crops, strictly agrees with the time during which the cattle were in the fields.²

But even stronger than the testimony to the writer's intimate knowledge of Egypt furnished by such references, is that which is deducible from numerous casual allusions occurring throughout the work, and of such a nature as entirely precludes the idea of design. Thus, for instance, the description of the valley of the Jordan before the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, bears that it was "as the garden of of the Lord, *like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar.*" (Gen. xiii. 10.) Egypt is the land which naturally presented itself as a means of comparison. This implies an acquaintance with it, and especially with the locality specified, on the part, not only of the writer, but also of the reader, more particularly exhibited in the direct form of the address: "*As thou comest unto Zoar.*" Other examples, though perhaps not so striking as this, are met with; as in the description of the land of Canaan, its physical features, and irrigation, as contrasted with Egypt, (Deut. xi. 10, 11.) So also the enumeration of the productions of Egypt, not given in a set form, but incidentally in the account of the murmurings of the mixed multitude which accompanied the Israelites from Egypt: "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, and the melons, and the grass, (הַצִּיר) and the onions, and the garlic," (Num. xi. 5.) "This passage," remarks Hengstenberg, "is especially important in respect to the connexion of the Pentateuch with Egypt. All the things named in it certainly existed in Egypt in great abundance, and most of them were distinguished for their excellency, and among those means of subsistence which ancient Egypt pro-

¹ Hengstenberg, Egypt, &c., p. 118.

² Ibid. p. 119. Osburn, Israel in Egypt, p. 282.

duced in great abundance, which were generally in favour with the whole people, and especially with them, there is no one omitted. Among those named, one is found, the grass (*helbeh*), which is so entirely peculiar to Egypt, that interpreters, down to the latest times, have erred in reference to it, since they fail to derive the explanation from accurate knowledge of Egypt.”¹

Even in the description of the manna there is a latent reference to Egypt—it is compared to coriander seed, (*Ex. xvi. 31* ; *Num. xi. 7*), a production with which it is thus assumed the Israelites were familiar, and which is in fact pre-eminently a product of Egypt.²

So also the notice incidentally introduced into the account of the visit of the spies to Hebron : “ Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,” (*Num. xiii. 22*.) This note at least assumes that the writer was intimately acquainted with the history and antiquities of Egypt, while it is certainly not introduced for the purpose of proclaiming that acquaintance. It is on the contrary one of those casual observations than which nothing more fully reveals the speaker or writer ; and is accordingly most important in its bearing on the present question. “ For Zoan (*Tanis*) is here evidently assumed as the object that was known, and Hebron as that which was unknown ; this is suited only to a nation that was coming out of Egypt, and was familiar with its antiquities ; and hence the passage in this, its peculiar form, does not admit of being treated as a native and indigenous tradition.”³

But more particularly the influence of Egypt is discernible in the language, symbolism, and enactments of the Pentateuch.

1. The influence of Egypt on the language of the Pentateuch is perhaps less than might be supposed, judging from the long period which the Israelites spent in Egypt, the intercourse between the two peoples, and the influences always exercised by the more civilized, powerful, or dominant race over their dependents. There were, however, specialities in

¹ Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 208. On the great consumption of fish in Egypt, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 57, 62, 63, and of vegetables, particularly *onions*, vol. ii. 370-374.

² Hävernick, *Einleitung*, I. ii. p. 438. *Comp. Wilkinson, Anc. Egyp.* iv. 62.

³ Hävernick, *Einleitung*, I. ii. p. 498, E. T. p. 316. See also Jahn, *Einleitung*, II. i. p. 17.

this case, which greatly checked the usual operation of such laws—repellant forces which more than counteracted any tendency to assimilation. There was on the part of the Egyptians the most marked contempt for foreigners, especially for nomade tribes like the Hebrews, and further, the jealousy with which they noticed the remarkable multiplication of the sojourners of Goshen; while on the part of the Israelites there were the feelings of wrong and of the cruel oppression to which they were exposed, but still more the traditions of their fathers, and the conviction that Egypt was but a place of temporary sojourn, and that a brighter destiny awaited their nation. There was thus a more than ordinary estrangement between the two peoples—a state more than once referred to in the Psalms as amounting to an ignorance on Israel's part of the language of Egypt: "When he went out through the land of Egypt; where I heard a language that I understood not." And again, "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language," (Ps. lxxxi. 5; cxiv. 1.)

However, there is a considerable number of Egyptian words found in the Pentateuch,¹ some of which indeed would appear to have become naturalized in the Hebrew.

Thus, יַאֲרֵ, Gen. xli. 1 sq., Ex. i. 22, &c., is the proper Egyptian name of the Nile, in Coptic, *jaro*, signifying *river* or *stream*. In Dan. xii. 5, it is applied to the Tigris. The Greek name, Νεῖλος, on the other hand, has a Shemitic origin, and is equivalent to the Hebrew נַחַל a valley, properly a valley with a brook or river.

אַרְבֵּי, Gen. xli. 2, 18, is not as in the English version, "a meadow," but evidently some vegetable production (Job viii. 11), and as it is here associated with the Nile, it must be the marsh-grass for which that river is noted. The Septuagint and Coptic translators regarded the term as Egyptian, and as such retained it in their respective versions, ἄχ and ΠΙ-ΑΧΙ.

The Egyptian name of Joseph, צְפִנְתָּ פִעֲנָה, Gen. xli. 45, has given rise to a great variety of conjectures, without leading

¹ See on this subject Jablonski, *Collectio et Explicatio vocum Ægyptiacarum, quarum mentio apud Scriptores veteres occurrit. Opuscula*, vol. i. Lugd. 1804. Meier, *Hebraisches Wurzelwörterbuch*, pp. 701-704. Mannheim, 1845. and Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 365, 366.

to any certain result.¹ The most probable is that of Jablonski, followed by Rosellini, who explains it by a corresponding Egyptian phrase signifying "the salvation of the world." Joseph's wife's name אֶסְנֶת which the LXX. write Ἀσενέθ, would seem to be compounded of the name of the goddess *Nit* or *Neith* (Νεῖθ), as in the names Psammenit and Rampsenit; so that *Asshe-neit* would be, according to Jablonski, "the worshipper of Neith," or according to Champollion, *As-neit*, "she who belongs to Neith." פֶּרַע פּוֹטִי signifies in the Egyptian language, "one who belongs to the sun," ΠΕΤΕ-ΦΡΗ, an appropriate name for the priest of On or Heliopolis (Gen. xli. 45, 50; xlii. 20). It is frequently found on the monuments. The term אֲבִרָה, which Pharaoh commanded should be proclaimed before Joseph (Gen. xli. 43), is certainly an Egyptian word, and not, as most of the ancient translators regarded it, derived from the Hebrew בָּרָה to *kneel* (Gen. xxiv. 11.) It is now usually understood as meaning either, "bow the head," ΑΠΕΡΕΚ or ΑΠΡΕΚ (De Rossi), or "let every one bow down," ΑΦΡΕΚ (Pfeiffer), or "bow towards him," ΟΥΒΕ ΡΕΚ, (Jablonski.)

פֶּרַע, LXX. Φαραώ, the common title of the Egyptian kings down to the Persian dominion, occurs as early as the time of Abraham (Gen. xii. 15). Rosellini and Lepsius compare it with the old Egyptian word, Φ-ΡΗ, "the sun;" but Gesenius and Meier hold to the earlier derivation of Josephus, who referred it to the Coptic *ouro*, or, with the article, *Ph-ouro*, "the king."²

Several Egyptian names of places, as אֶן, (Gen. xli. 45, 50), by the LXX. identified with Heliopolis:—OEIN in Coptic signifies *light*, or *sunlight*. Other geographical designations, as פֶּתִם and רַעַמְסֵס (Ex. i. 11) also occur; but these need no further examination, only that, according to Champollion, the original name of Pithom was *Thoum* (enclosed by mountains), the prefix *Pi* being the Egyptian article.

But the most noticeable fact in this connection is, that the name of the Hebrew lawgiver himself is Egyptian. No

¹ See Pfeiffer, Opera, i. 564, and Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 1181.

² Antiq. viii. 6, § 2. See, however, Wilkinson (Anc. Egyp. i. 43, iv. 287), who ably controverts this opinion.

doubt the form of the name מֹשֶׁה is conformed to the Hebrew, but the LXX. have retained the older and more Egyptian designation, Μωϋσῆς. Josephus, Philo, and some of the Fathers, as Clemens of Alexandria, and a writer quoted by Eusebius, hold that it was derived from a term ΜΩ or ΜΩΣ, which, in, the Egyptian language signifies water. According to Jablonski, in Coptic *Mou* means "water," and *oushe*, "saved." Bunsen also gives *muuu* as the old Egyptian term for "water."¹ This is unquestionably the etymology of the term which best accords with what is said of the Egyptian princess: "She called his name Moses, and said, Because I drew him out of the water." (Ex. ii. 10). The root מָשָׁה, to draw, with which the Hebrew form is etymologically connected, occurs only three times, Ex. ii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 17; Psal. xviii. 17, the last two passages clearly having reference to Ex. ii. 10.

2. The influence of Egypt on the symbolism of the Pentateuch is also deserving of notice in any inquiry regarding the date of its composition.

Of more importance than the impress which the Egyptian sojourn of the Israelites gave to the language of the Pentateuch was that which it communicated to the religious system therein embodied. This subject has, indeed, an interest far higher than that on account of which it is here introduced. From the similarity observed between many of the customs and religious practices of the ancient Egyptians, as recorded by classic authors, and the institutions of the Pentateuch, attempts have been made by the adversaries of revelation, and others, to refer all that was peculiar in the Mosaic law and ordinances to Egypt, while any deviation from the original source was assumed to be owing to the legislator's desire to cure his people of idolatry. The opponents of this view either denied that there was any correspondence between the Egyptian and the Hebrew systems,—a position which they found it very difficult to maintain, or they admitted the premises; but, instead of shewing that such a connexion, when rightly considered, led to conclusions rather favourable than otherwise to the Mosaic economy, they set themselves to establish the altogether untenable proposition, that such Egyptian rites as bore any

¹ Egypt's Place, vol. i., p. 471.

resemblance to those of the Hebrews must have been borrowed from the latter.¹ A better acquaintance with the subject has largely corrected both these extreme views; and it is found that while it furnishes no sanction whatever to any deistical conclusions, the influence of Egypt on the Mosaic system is by no means inconsiderable.

The symbolism of the Egyptian religion was elaborated in the highest degree. "The whole life of that people was," as Hengstenberg remarks, "under the control of a symbolic ceremonial law; it had penetrated deeply into all civil relations, and by means of it religion and legislation were indissolubly connected."² Religion, by means of these symbols, was presented in a form which readily addressed itself to the eye, and so admitted of a variety of interpretations, according to the specific ideas which might be attached to such conventional signs. This it is necessary to premise, because the resemblance now sought to be established extends only to the outward form, the spirit of the two systems being totally distinct. Overlooking this important distinction constituted the leading error of Spencer and his school. The Mosaic economy was entirely new, although it may have adopted wisely, and perhaps, to some extent at least, necessarily, the outward forms long familiar to the mind. It is, undoubtedly, not only allowable but proper, that in giving an outward representation of things really holy, for example, forms should be used which long association had connected with what was viewed as holy, rather than new ones, not yet possessed of a sacred character.

But however this may be, and whatever view may be taken of the propriety of such a course is immaterial to the present question, it is indubitable that it was adopted to some extent by the Hebrew legislator in many of his institutions.

As an instance fully illustrating the connexion between the two systems may be noticed the similarity observed to exist between the dress of the Egyptian and of the Israelitish priests, both as respects material and colour. The Israelitish priests were required to wear white linen and byssus (Exod.

¹ See above B. i., chap. i., sect. 2, pp. 17, 18. ² Authentic, E. T. ii. 511.

xxviii. 39-42; xxxix. 27, 28; Lev. vi. 10); and that the Egyptian priests were similarly clothed, appears from the testimony of Herodotus and Plutarch.¹ The former says: "Their dress is entirely of linen, nor is it lawful for them to wear any other material." And what is more remarkable, this sacerdotal dress was peculiar to those two nations.² It was the same also with respect to the colour, which in these two cases only was exclusively white.

Another instance of similarity as respects the symbolic significance of colours occurs in the appointment of the red heifer, Num. xix. 2. From the symbolic use of this colour in other passages of Scripture, it may be concluded that it served in this connexion to characterise the heifer as a sin-offering, or emblem of sin. Red was also the type of sin among the Egyptians, all whose sacrifices required to be of that colour. The Egyptians and the Hebrews are, indeed, according to Hengstenberg, "the only two nations among whom red is found as a fixed and naturally recognised designation of evil."³ But the similarity, it is important to observe, extends no further than the symbolic import of the colour of the victim; while it may be supposed, with Spencer,⁴ and in this contrary to Hengstenberg, that the choice of the heifer, instead of the bullock usually offered, was intended to mark the strongest opposition to the Egyptian notion of the sacredness of the cow.

But, indeed, the very marked contrast presented, in many cases, between the Hebrew and the Egyptian rituals establishes the connexion here maintained between Egypt and the author of the Pentateuch, no less incontestably than the most distinct agreement observable in other particulars. But as this subject will, as already remarked, be more fully considered in a future chapter, it is unnecessary to adduce further examples, either of affinity or of contrast, in confirmation of the views now so generally admitted, that there is some danger of going to the opposite extreme, of unduly multiplying points of similarity.

¹ Herod. ii. 27. Plut., *De Iside*, sect. 4. Rawlinson's Herod., vol. ii., p. 63.

² Wilkinson: "The Egyptian and Jewish priests were the only ones (except, perhaps, those of India) whose dresses were ordered to be of linen." ³ Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 179.

⁴ De Legibus Hebræorum, L. ii. 15, § 2.

Something of this kind, indeed, is chargeable on Hengstenberg. Nor were even some of the older opponents of the scheme of Spencer themselves too scrupulous in admitting resemblances in regard to particulars which further investigation has shown were not confined to the Egyptians or the Hebrews. Witsius, the ablest opponent of Spencer, at the very outset of his "*Ægyptiaca*," proposed to establish, by a copious induction of particulars, that there is a very marked agreement between the religious systems of the ancient Egyptians and the Hebrews.¹ With regard to some of these it must be admitted that the affinity is anything but apparent. But, on the other hand, it should be added, that some modern writers, with the view, apparently, of honouring the Mosaic system, are too ready to deny any such agreement. This, perhaps, is the characteristic of Bähr; but this and other points must be reserved for further consideration. Meantime, it is enough that the connexion between the symbolism of the Pentateuch and Egypt is no longer regarded as fortuitous, but as the result of an intimate acquaintance with that land.

3. The influence of Egypt on the enactments of the Pentateuch is the only remaining point to be considered under this head.

That some of the Israelitish ordinances should be specially framed with a view of counteracting and correcting the tendencies which the people had acquired in Egypt, and the pernicious consequences of which were soon and in various ways manifested, as, for instance, in the worship of the golden calf (Ex. xxxii.) in imitation of the Egyptian Apis—can be readily inferred from the direct and general admonition against Egyptian practices. "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do." Lev. xviii. 3. This conclusion is fully borne out by various particulars having reference to the state and circumstances of the people, as disposing them for the recognition of laws and institutions, and as standing in special need of the particular ordinances introduced.

Egypt was a land where everything was regulated by statute, or custom, and to this circumstance may be referred

¹ Magnam atque admittendam plane veteres inter Ægyptios atque Hebræos convenientiam in religionis negotio esse.—*Ægyptiaca*, p. 4. Amst., 1683.

the capacity, on the part of the Israelites, for receiving at once the complex system embodied in the Pentateuch; while it also may be supposed to have imparted to that code some of its distinguishing features. "No man legislates in the abstract; there must be in every code of laws an adaptation to the existing state and aspect of society; and this always the more, the higher the skill and wisdom of the legislator. . . . For what was needed to develope and express either the civil or the religious life of a people so reared, would in many respects differ from what might have suited a rude and uncultivated horde. So that a certain regard to the state of things in Egypt was absolutely necessary to the Hebrew polity, if it was to possess a suitable adaptation to the real progress of society in the arts and manners of civilised life."¹

Of laws having a special aspect to Egypt, the following are instances:—Thus the prohibition in Lev. xvii. 7,—“They shall no longer offer their sacrifices unto devils (*he-goats* אֱלִילִים) after which they have lusted;” by Knobel² referred to Egypt, but others discern in it an allusion to the desert. The he-goat, as appears from Josephus,³ was early worshipped in Egypt, and participated in the very highest honours. Herodotus remarks of some of the Egyptians: “The Mendesians hold all goats in veneration, but the male more than the female, giving the goat-herds of the males especial honour.”⁴ So the law concerning unlawful intercourse in Lev. xviii, in which marriage between near relations occupies the first place, is accompanied with the words, ver. 3, “After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do.” The marriage with a sister, so expressly forbidden in the Mosaic law, was not only allowed but commended by Egyptian usage, —a circumstance which attracted the notice even of heathen writers. Diodorus observes: “It is, contrary to the common custom, lawful among the Egyptians to marry a sister, since such a union, in the case of Isis, was so fortunate in its consequences.”⁵ Offerings for the dead were strictly prohibited (Deut. xxvi. 14). On this Wilkinson remarks: “It was

¹ Fairbairn, *Typology*, vol. ii., p. 208.

² *Die Bücher Exod. u. Lev. erklärt*, p. 496; see, on the other hand, Hävernick, *Einleit.*, I. ii., p. 480.

³ *Contra Apion*. ii. 7.

⁴ *Herod.* ii. 46.

⁵ *Diod. Sic.* i. 27.

doubtless the Egyptian custom that the Hebrew legislator had in view when he introduced this wise prohibition.”¹

Sanctions for the laws and exhortations are taken from what the Israelites experienced in Egypt. Numerous references of this kind occur in Deuteronomy. Thus in Deut. v. 15, where it is commanded that servants should be allowed the Sabbath rest, it is added, “And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt.” So also when it is commanded to love the stranger, they are reminded that they themselves had been strangers in the land of Egypt. Comp. Deut. iv. 20; vi. 20; vii. 8; xv. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 22. Similar references are also found in the earlier books; see Ex. xxii. 20; Lev. xix. 34. Such appeals as these to the consciousness of the people are utterly inexplicable as they are unnatural if supposed to proceed from a later writer. So also with the instructions for the future king, Deut. xvii. 16. “He shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.”

In conclusion, it may safely be affirmed, that the Pentateuch bears numerous and unmistakeable traces of the influence of Egypt, and that the acquaintance which it thus exhibits with the history and language, the manners and institutions, as also with the productions of that country, cannot have been the result of intercourse between Egypt and Canaan subsequent to the settlement of Israel in the latter, and when they began to make acquaintance with foreign countries, as for example under Solomon, but must have been entirely owing to the cause assigned in the Pentateuch itself, the residence of Israel and the author of the Pentateuch in Egypt. For any other supposition, the acquaintance of the author with his subject is too accurate and minute. He must have long personally resided in the land whose every feature he so carefully describes. No casual acquaintance, nor the most discriminating use of materials adopted at second hand, could have enabled the writer of this history to throw himself back so unreservedly on the scene and the subject he describes. Even

¹ Anc. Egypt. vol. v., p. 391.

in the absence of other evidence, these considerations alone suffice to prove, that here is unquestionably contemporary history.

ii. But further, the acquaintance of the author of the Pentateuch with the Arabian Desert is no less marked than with the land of Egypt. Israel on coming out of Egypt, are represented as having sojourned for forty years in the Arabian Desert before obtaining possession of the land of Canaan. Now if the Pentateuch was written during that period, it must bear many traces of the wilderness and of the nomade condition of Israel at the time. Passing over the express and direct statements on this point, exhibited no less clearly in the legislative arrangements and enactments,¹ than in the historical accounts, it may be remarked that the numerous simple and incidental notices regarding the geography and the physical peculiarities and productions of the wilderness, more particularly of the peninsula of Mount Sinai and adjacent regions, contained in the narrative, agree so fully with the circumstances represented directly by the writer, as to shew that it must be the result as well here as in regard to Egypt, of personal observation and experience.

1. The geography of the wilderness is most accurately presented in the Pentateuch. Although, owing to various circumstances, it is exceedingly difficult, and in some instances, indeed, impossible, to identify the localities denoted in the narrative of the Exodus and the subsequent journeys, it is felt that there is so much minuteness in the descriptions, the distances, and the relative situations of the places described, as fully necessitates the conclusion that they were well known to the writer, and could easily have been identified by his contemporaries. According to Stanley,² "The localities, both on the march and before the passage, are described with a precision which indicates, that at the time when the narrative was written, they were known with the utmost exactness." At the same time, the fidelity of the general description is fully recognised by all travellers, and with the distinct admission, that

¹ Particularly important in this respect are the arrangements as to the scape-goat, and other ordinances of the day of atonement, Lev. xvi. See Hävernicks, *Einleit.*, I., ii., 479.

² Sinai and Palestine, p. 34.

so vivid a picture can have resulted only from personal observation.

This is fully seen in the narrative of the departure from Egypt, and of Pharaoh's pursuit, (Ex. xii. 37 ; xiii. 20 ; xiv. 2, 9.) The point of departure was Rameses ; their first stage was Succoth, (סֻכּוֹת, tents or booths, see Gen. xxxiii. 17,) a place which must have been already known as a suitable locality for an encampment; and thence to Etham, "in the edge of the wilderness," (see also Num. xxxiii. 6,) the author, however, premising that the way by which they were led was not the nearest and direct route to Canaan through the land of the Philistines, (Ex. xiii. 17,) but a more circuitous one. The second stage brought them to the borders of the Arabian desert; but instead of advancing directly into the desert they returned to Pihahiroth, which lies before Baalzephon, and pitched before Migdol ; in other words, they turned down again further into Egypt to the Arabian Gulf. Without entering into an enquiry respecting the precise position of Israel, here indicated, it is sufficient to remark, that in the view of Pharaoh, their line of march had brought them into inextricable difficulties, and that it was for the purpose of inducing him to pursue the fugitives that the arrangements were so ordered. To secure their flight, instead of turning back as indicated, they should have hastened to pass the head of the Arabian Gulf, before the garrison, proceeding from the military station at Migdol, (the Tower,) could have intercepted them. The difficulties resulting from their retrograde movement are plainly expressed in the narrative, which no less clearly shows that the course taken was not of their own choice, so that these statements, when closely examined, show the narrator's intimate acquaintance with the geography of the locality.

After the passage of the Red Sea,¹ "they went into the wilderness of Shur, and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water," (Ex. xv. 22). This fact strikingly corresponds with the character of the locality specified. The desert of Shur (Gen. xvi. 17) denotes the whole desert between Egypt and Palestine, and of course the line of march must be

¹ For the opposite views concerning the locality of the passage, see Robinson, Bib. Researches, vol. i. pp. 51-59; and Wilson, Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 149-160. Edin. 1847.

determined by the point of egress from the Red Sea; but taking this at or near the spot usually assigned, and marked by tradition as Ayun Musa, the Fountains of Moses, the Israelites must have traversed a region exactly corresponding to the Biblical description, the soil for great distances being chiefly sand or gravel, and in various places refulgent with crystallised sulphate of lime, which covers the sand in layers half an inch thick. They reached Marah, the water of which was so bitter, that they could not drink it. Marah is with great probability identified with Hawârah. "The position of the spring and the nature of the country tally very exactly," according to Robinson,¹ "with this supposition. After having passed the Red Sea, the Israelites would naturally supply themselves from the fountains, Nâba' and 'Ayûn Mûsa; and from the latter to Hawârah is a distance of about sixteen and a-half hours, or thirty-three geographical miles, which was for them a good three days' journey. On the route itself *there is no water*, but near the sea is now the small fountain Abu Suweirah, which may then have been dry or not have existed; and in the mountains on the left is the 'Cup of Sudi,' several hours from the road, and probably unknown to the Israelites." The Arabs pronounce the fountain Hawarah, as the Israelites, *Marah*, bitter, and consider it as the worst water in all these regions.²

Respecting a subsequent stage of the journey, another traveller says:—"About two hours after leaving the mouth of Wadi Teiyibah, we reached the centre of the extensive triangular plain called Wadi el-Markhah, or the 'Valley of Ease,' where we 'encamped by the Red Sea,' exactly like the Israelites at their first station after they removed from Elim, (Numb. xxxiii. 10). We were all much struck with the indirect but remarkable coincidence of holy Scripture with the topography of this day's march. No person but a writer well acquainted with the geography of these parts, would, like Moses, have brought the Israelites again upon the Red Sea by a line of march so devious, but so necessary on account of the mountains and wadis, as that which we have to-day pursued."³

¹ Bib. Researches, vol. i. p. 67.

² Ibid. i. 66.

³ Wilson, Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 180.

And on a comparison of the sacred narrative with the localities around Mount Sinai, the same writer remarks:—"It is so consistent with these, in the minute circumstances to which I have referred, that at Sinai we could not resist seeing what appeared to us new proofs of the authenticity and credibility of that narrative."¹

Another noticeable specification of distance towards the other extremity of the journey occurs in Deut. i. 2:—"There are eleven days from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea." It is uncertain whether this intimation refers to the route which was actually taken by the Israelites, or to some other and shorter road, and there are other difficulties connected with it;² but all this is immaterial to the present purpose, for such a precise specification indicates a careful acquaintance with the localities. The words cannot certainly have been spoken at random.

But not to enlarge, it were but small praise to say, that in these and other particulars, the author of the Pentateuch contrasts favourably with various profane writers of a much more recent period, who have had occasion to refer to the geography of those regions, and who have only thereby shewn their ignorance of it. Indeed, it is only from the more correct knowledge acquired within the last few years, that the thorough accuracy of the geography of the Pentateuch, with respect to the Exodus and the desert in particular, has been duly recognised. It would be amusing to advert to some of the difficulties which perplexed the earlier expositors, arising entirely from their ignorance of the localities described. One example, however, must suffice. Thus the second encampment by the Red Sea, (Num. xxxiii. 10,) of which notice has been already taken, as a very decided evidence of the accuracy of the narrative, was long a source of perplexity. The only way in which Jerome could account for the mention made in that locality of יַם-סוּף, "the sea of weeds," or "reeds,"—the Hebrew and Egyptian³ name of the Red Sea,—was by imagining that there was a bay running inland, or that a pool of water with reeds

¹ Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 225. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 234. Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, ii. 187.

² See Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 298. ³ Jablonski, *Opuscula*, i. 266. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 943.

might possibly be the Reedy Sea.¹ But if not so fanciful as regards the locality, yet equally unsupported were the views of Le Clerc and others² as to the purpose which could have induced the Israelites to have returned again to the Red Sea, from not knowing that it properly lay in their route. The conjectures hazarded on the subject were not at all admissible, nor are they needed, now that the locality has been examined by travellers who, without exception, testify to the thorough accuracy of the historian, as well in this as in other particulars.

2. But not less worthy of notice is the writer's acquaintance with the peculiarities of the wilderness, and its natural productions. The contrast which it presented to Egypt is at once brought out in the most striking manner in the murmurings of the people on first encountering the trials of the journey. The wilderness is felt to be as death; to die in the wilderness was regarded as the inevitable result of their leaving the land of Egypt, (Ex. xiv. 12); and this feeling is easily accounted for from the description which travellers give of the region in question.³ Then the various difficulties of the journey follow in the most natural order; first, the want of water, (Ex. xv. 24,) which must have been a very severe trial to a people accustomed to the pleasant water of the Nile. Hunger would have next ensued, on the exhaustion of the store of provisions brought with them from Egypt, (Ex. xvi. 2, 3). Water seems, however, to have been the more urgent and recurrent want, (xvii. 2).

Besides the wholly miraculous provision of the manna, there were supplies of such productions as were natural to the locality, although they may have been brought to the Israelites in a miraculous manner, and in extraordinary numbers—as the quails (Ex. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 31) and the locusts, (Lev. xi. 22,)—the latter, in particular, a special production of the desert, and an article of food much relished by Arab and other tribes. The manna, on the other hand, is represented as a substance entirely unknown to the Israelites;

¹ Hieronymus, Ep. cxxvii. ad Fabiolam.

² Buddeus, Hist. Eccles., i. 432.

³ See Hengstenberg, Egypt, &c., p. 55.

but it is compared to certain productions with which they were familiar, (Exod. xvi. 15, 31). Of these was an article termed **קָיָה**, considered to denote *coriander*, which, as noticed above, was extensively used in Egypt.¹

Several of the productions of the desert served in all probability to supplement the provision miraculously supplied, although such is not expressly stated. Nevertheless the evidence of the writer's acquaintance with the natural history of the region of sojourn appears in various ways. Thus in the enactments regarding food in Lev. xi.; Deut. xiv., there are interesting traces of this kind. Many of the animals there enumerated appear to be such as are found only in Egypt or Arabia, and which would scarcely have been referred to, had the regulations in question originated in Palestine. To give only one or two instances. Thus **יִנְשֹׁף**, (Lev. xi. 17,) is by the LXX. rendered *ἰβίς*, a rendering confirmed by the context, in which only water fowl are mentioned. Hamilton Smith objects to this identification on the ground that the Ibis is totally unknown in Palestine,² an objection however which is favourable to the present argument; while it may be further noted, that in the only other passage where this bird is mentioned, Isa. xxxiv. 11, it is in connexion with Edom, a region nearer than Palestine to the locality of the law. So also **צָב**, LXX., *κροκόδειλος χερσαίος*, ver. 29, "the lizard of the Nile," with its different species. It is the same with **חַמְצָדִּים**, LXX., *χαμαδριδς*, ver. 19, which is indigenous in Egypt.³

More special notice must however be taken of a vegetable production of the desert, *Shittah*, (**שִׁטָּה**), generally taken to denote the Egyptian acacia, and of the wood of which were constructed the Ark with its staves, and the boards and bars of the Tabernacle, (Exod. xxv.) This tree is found copiously in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, where the Tabernacle is said to have been constructed, whereas it is very rare in Palestine.⁴ So abundant was this tree in the Sinaitic peninsula, that a particular locality was there

¹ See Rosenmüller, Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible, p. 101. Edin. 1840.

² Kitto's Cyc. Bib. Lit., vol. ii. p. 975.

³ Hävernicks, Einleitung, I., ii. 478.

⁴ Kitto's Cyc. Bib. Lit., Art. *Shittah*, ii. 759, 760.

named after it, Shittim, (Num. xxv. 1.) In connexion with the Tabernacle, some reference may be made to the covering provided for it, consisting of the skins of שִׁטִּים, in the English version, "badger," but which seems rather to have been an aquatic animal. There is a large fish found in the Red Sea, the skin of which is made into sandals by the Bedowin of the desert of Sinai, and which Robinson¹ thinks might very well answer for the external covering of the Tabernacle.

The "Retem," or wild broom, gives its name to one of the stations of the Israelites, Rithmah, (Num. xxxiii, 18, 19,) and as remarked by Stanley, "is the very shrub under which, in the only subsequent passage which connects the desert with the history of Israel, Elijah slept, (1 Kings xix. 4,) in his wanderings. . . . The 'lasaf' or 'asaf,' the caper plant, the bright green creeper which climbs out of the fissures of the rocks in the Sinaitic valleys, has been identified on grounds of great probability with the 'hyssop' or 'ezob' of Scripture, and thus explains whence came the green branches used, even in the desert, for sprinkling the water over the tents of the Israelites, (Num. xix. 18)"²

But it is unnecessary to prosecute this subject further, or adduce additional evidence that the author of the Pentateuch was fully conversant with the scenes described in the history of the Exodus and the wanderings. The whole are too instinct with life to have been drawn from second hand, or even from a passing acquaintance with the localities. The accuracy of the narrative, even in its most minute particulars, is fully avouched by the testimony of the most observant travellers. The acquaintance with the desert thus indicated, assumes for the question now under consideration, a far greater value from the fact, that, after the period of the wandering, Israel's relation to the desert almost totally ceased. "So high already did the religion which was there first proclaimed, tower above any local bonds, that throughout the whole subsequent history of Judaism, there is but one known instance of a visit to this its earliest birth-place. The whole tenor of the historical and prophetical Scriptures is to withdraw the mind from the desert to Palestine—from Sinai to Zion. 'Why leap ye so, ye high mountains?' This (Jerusalem) is the *mountain* which God

¹ Bib. Researches, i. 116

² Sinai and Pal., pp. 20, 21.

desireth to dwell in. . . . The Lord is among them, as *in Sinai*, in the holy place,' (Ps. lxxviii. 15, 17.)¹ The sanctuary of Horeb was not living, but dead and deserted. One visitant, however, there was to this wild region—it may be, as the only one known, out of many unknown pilgrims, but, more probably, an exception proving the rule—driven here only by the extraordinary circumstances of his times, and by his own character and mission, the great prophet Elijah."²

SECT. III. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE AGE OF THE PENTATEUCH CONTINUED—ITS ARCHAISMS.

Hävernicks, Einleitung, I. i., § 31, pp. 177-196. General Introduction, E. T., pp. 155-171. Edin. 1852.—Edwards, The Authenticity and Genuineness of the Pentateuch, § 5. Biblioth. Sac. ii., 387-398.

As subsidiary internal evidence confirmatory of the conclusions reached in the two preceding sections relative to the age of the Pentateuch, the archaisms characteristic of its language and style must not be overlooked. In connexion, however, with this subject, some preliminary notice must be taken of the remarkable permanency of form and structure which belonged to the written Hebrew language throughout its extended history,—a circumstance which it may be supposed considerably diminishes the force of the present argument, and which is so perceptible as to have led some critics, as Gesenius,³ De Wette, and others, to maintain that there is scarcely any material difference in the language of the several works written previous to the Captivity, although Gesenius made some exception in favour of the Pentateuch, and latterly even De Wette⁴

¹ The Psalmist by the expression, סִינַי בְּקֶדְשׁ "Sinai is in the Sanctuary," intimates that the glory of the mountain of the Law was transferred to the place of God's permanent abode in Zion.

² Stanley, Sinai and Pal., p. 49.

³ Geschichte der Heb. Sprache, § 8:—"The language of the Pentateuch coincides perfectly with that of the other old historical books. . . . If those

writings are separated by nearly a thousand years from one another, we shall have a phenomenon before us which is without a parallel in the history of languages." Leip. 1815.

⁴ Einleitung, §§ 157, 163. De Wette accounts for the archaisms by supposing that they were adopted by the compiler from the ancient documents which he used.

to a much greater extent. But even this uniformity in the language, as presented by the Hebrew literature, so unusual in other cases, may be shown to have been due in some measure to the authority of the Pentateuch itself, and so furnishes no argument against its antiquity.

The fixedness of Oriental ideas in general must certainly be regarded as the primary element in those influences which combined to stamp on the Hebrew language that almost uniform character, at least in its leading features, which it presents in nearly all the prose compositions, from the first appearance of literary activity down to the period of the Babylonian exile, after which it was exposed to influences altogether new. The effect of this was doubtless greatly enhanced in the case of the Hebrew language, by the secluded and unjugated position of the people during the earlier period of their national history, and from their settlement in Canaan, antecedent to which the composition of the Pentateuch is assigned. The same is observed to be very much the case in regard to the language of the Arabs of the desert, and is doubtless in great measure owing to similar causes.

But another and still more important influence in inducing a uniformity in the style of the religious literature of the Hebrews proceeded from the Pentateuch itself. It was not merely a classic authority as regarded the history of the nation, and so exerting all the influences which belonged to such a work; it was also viewed with all the interest due to the national statute-book, and with the reverence which belonged to a sacred document of law and religion, both public and private. Its influence in these and other respects upon the popular modes of thought and expression must have been incalculable, judging only from somewhat analogous cases, as, for instance, the effect of the authorised version of the Bible on the stability of the English language, or of Luther's version on the German, both of which are allowed to have exerted an unmistakeable influence on their respective tongues, though owing to the greatly different circumstances they must have come far short of what may be conceded to the Hebrew Pentateuch.¹ But the evidence adducible, especially from the

¹ For other facts, see Stuart, *Old Test. Canon*, §. i. pp. 12, 13.

Psalmic poetry, unequivocally testifies that the spirit and language of the Pentateuch were so inwrought into the very being and spiritual perception of the sacred writers, that it need excite no surprise that they should have adhered so closely to their great original, often, it would seem, unconsciously to themselves.

But in addition to this, the institutions of the Pentateuch were fitted to impart a certain type of fixedness and uniformity to the Hebrew mind, particularly to its mode of perception and expression. Besides the limited extent of their territory, and the general uniformity of its features—circumstances in a great measure adapted to maintain a fixity in the language of any people so situated—there was in the case of the Israelitish nation such an amount of what in modern political phraseology is termed “centralisation,” induced through the institutions of the Pentateuch, which would effectually preclude any great deviations originating in local peculiarities. There was a uniform system of law and administration, there was the necessity of a personal appearance on various important occasions at the centre of all authority and the place of public worship, which, from the time of David, was fixed at Jerusalem, the metropolis of the nation, such as existed among no other community. And, in addition to all this, there were the three stated journeys, which every year brought the inhabitants of the remotest corners of the land into communion with the dwellers in the capital, in the celebration of the services of the law, and listening on some occasions in particular to a rehearsal of its contents, and other circumstances which it is of importance for the philologist to take into account in any inquiry with regard to this phenomenon.

But, notwithstanding the general uniformity of the Hebrew language, attributable to these and possibly other causes, the language of the Pentateuch displays unmistakeable tokens of its great antiquity. As already noticed, even Gesenius allows that “the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms.”¹ And so, also, Ewald, with regard to what he considers the few

¹ Heb. Gram. §. 2. 3. So also Geschichte §. 11, “The Pentateuch has some peculiarities.”

older fragments found in the Pentateuch, observes that "there are many things in the style as rare as they are antique." And again, in a note: "Considering the small number of passages, the amount of words elsewhere wholly unknown or not used in prose is great."¹

In entering upon this subject it may be remarked, that the Pentateuch supplies considerable information relative to a much earlier stage of the Hebrew language than that which pertained to the time of its own composition. This is presented in its quotations from ancient songs and proverbial sayings, or in its references to early transactions. The oldest example of this kind, however—the song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23, 24)—though containing various peculiarities of a highly poetic style, as, for instance, שָׁמַעַן for שְׁמַעְנָה, "hear ye," presents few or no archaisms. These are more marked in some proper names, as הָוָה, the name of the first woman (Gen. iii. 20), derived from an early form of חָוָה for חַיָּה, "to live;" just as the Divine name יְהוָה is derived from הָוָה, an earlier form of הָיָה, "to be." Sometimes expressions occur in the Pentateuch relative to early incidents which the historian deems necessary to explain, evidently because no longer current in his time. Thus, in Gen. xv. 2, the expression בֶּן־מִשְׁקָה (which has so perplexed ancient and modern translators, מִשְׁקָה being taken by the LXX. for a proper name; by Aquila as identical with מִשְׁקָה, υἱὸς τοῦ ποτιζόντος οἰκίαν μου; by most of the other ancient versions with Theodotion, υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπι τῆς οἰκίας μου, which is that of the Eng. Ver., "the steward of my house,") is explained in ver. 3 by יֹרֵשׁ אֹתִי "my heir," showing that the former expression means "son of possession," or, according to a common Hebrew idiom, "possessor."² It may be added, that the words, רַמְיֶשֶׁק אֱלִיעֶזֶר, cannot mean "Eliezer of Damascus," for the person here denoted is described in ver. 3 as בֶּן־בְּרִיתִי, born in Abraham's own family, but must probably be a proper name, "Damascus Eliezer," as taken by the LXX. So also in Gen. xxxix. 20 בֵּית הַסֹּהַר, which probably means "the house of enclosure," or "the round house," is explained by the description immediately added: "the place where the king's prisoners were bound."

¹ Geschichte des Volkes Israel, i. 85.

² Kalisch, Genesis, p. 364.

Jahn¹ instances also the explanation in Gen. xvii. 5 of אברהם by the terms אב הַמֶּן "father of a multitude," the root רהם, not found in Hebrew, but in Arabic, signifies "a multitude."

There are also a few indications in the Pentateuch of a vulgar dialect distinct from the written language. One instance is the term מֶן, in Ex. xvi. 15, used by the Israelites on first seeing the manna, when they exclaimed מֶן הוּא, which, from the explanation added by the historian, "for they knew not what it was" (מֶה-הוּא) shows that מֶן was the popular form of the interrogative pronoun מַה.² Another instance, noticed by Hävernick³ in Gen. xlvii. 23, הֵא, which he takes to be closely connected with the pronoun (הֵא-אַתָּם, "there you have"), is exceedingly improbable, as it is the language of Joseph to the Egyptians, and of course is here given in a translation,—circumstances which utterly remove it from the vulgar or popular style. But with the Pentateuch it may be said properly began the development of the Hebrew language, which admitted of a literary application, more particularly in respect to the large extent in which it is there presented; this development having been greatly promoted by the circumstances of the people in Egypt, where they lived apart by themselves, and where they even occupied a hostile relation to their Egyptian neighbours (Gen. xlv. 34; Ex. i. 13, 14); to such a degree that the speech of the latter was "a language which they knew not;" (Ps. lxxxi. 6). More particularly with the establishment of the Theocracy began, as may easily be conceived from the historical relations of the case, an entirely new literary epoch. "With the new organization of the people, the legislative form which this composition assumed, in the first instance, stood in intimate relation; then came the history of the people during that past time with which the present was so clearly connected, and to this was again added Poetry, in the shape of the sacred song, as an essential part of the new worship, and its fairest ornament (see Ex. xv.; Num. xx. 33; x. 35. Comp. Ps. lxviii. 2; Deut. xii. 12; xvi. 11. 14; xxvi. 11; xxvii. 7), where the expression, 'to rejoice before the Lord,' denotes nothing else than to honour him by sacred songs. From this

¹ Einleitung, II. i. 102.

³ Einleitung, I. i. 177.

² Eichhorn, Einleitung i. 79.

it comes to pass, that in the Pentateuch there is a union of different kinds of writing, which, at a later period, served as models in these different branches of literature."¹

Before adverting, however, more particularly to the archaisms of the Pentateuch, it is to be further observed, that its language throughout presents a most entire accordance with the state and the circumstances in which it describes the people, whose entrance into Canaan soon after must have speedily led to very important changes in their vocabulary. A new country, with new productions and occupations, would give rise to new ideas and expressions; and this, with other circumstances, among which must be reckoned the direct influence of the Pentateuch itself, already noticed, must have greatly affected the language, by the introduction of terms altogether unknown at the time of its composition, and bringing into desuetude some of the older expressions. This is a subject which should offer great attractions to the philologist, and which certainly might be rendered more available than it has hitherto been in evidence of the date of the early Hebrew Scriptures. Here, however, there is room for only a few remarks.

Thus, for instance, of the natural productions of Palestine, אֲרֶז, *the cedar*, בְּרֹשֶׁת, *the fir*, or rather *the cypress*, so frequently referred to in the later books, there is, as Eichhorn² observes, no mention whatever in the Pentateuch, while, on the contrary, אַצְטֶה, *the acacia*, the peculiar product of the desert, appears in the later writings only in Isa. xli. 19, and in connexion with the wilderness. Eichhorn further observes, that the names of various species of serpents, אֲפֶסֶת, אֲפַעָה, and צִפְעוֹנִי are later than the Pentateuch.³

So also terms employed in agriculture and commerce, and for designating large and magnificent edifices, are in a great measure of later origin. The general designation of the agriculturist by the circumlocution, עֹבֵד אֲדָמָה, "a worker of the ground," used in the Pentateuch (Gen. iv. 2), was afterwards expressed by the single term אֲבִיר, (*e.g.* Amos v. 16; Isa. lxi. 5). The reaping sickle, for which there was at first only the term חֲרִמָּה (Deut. xvi. 9; xxiii. 26), meaning generally "a cutting

¹ Hävernicks, Einleitung, I., i., 179.

³ Ibid., p. 74.

² Einleitung, i. 73.

instrument," was subsequently designated by the term מִנְיָן (Jer. l. 16). There were also introduced names for various kinds of measures and weights, as בֵּר, לֶחֶף, and קֶב; while, on the other hand, הֵן, the name of a measure, קִשְׁיֹטָה, probably the name of a weight¹ (Gen. xxxiii. 19), and פֶּרֶה (Ex. xxx. 13; Lev. xxvii. 25; Num. iii. 47; xviii. 16), a smaller weight, did not survive the nomadic life of the Hebrews. So also אֶמְתַּחַת, anciently the name for a corn-sack (Gen. xlii. 27 sq.; xliii. 18, 21, 22). The dwellings of the Hebrews, on their settlement in Canaan, assumed the character of אֶרְמוֹנוֹת and הַיְכָלִים, and the female inhabitants of the cities no longer wore the Arabian veil, מִסְוָה (Ex. xxxiv. 33-35; comp. Gen. xx. 16), or the golden drops of the Arabs, בּוֹמָז (Ex. xxxv. 22; Num. xxxi. 50), and the terms accordingly came into disuse. The same also is the case with several other words.

The influence of the law, too, on the introduction of new terms was also considerable. Thus, לְחוֹת הָעֵדוּת, "the tables of the testimony," or, abbreviated, עֵדוּת (Ex. xxv. 21; xvi. 34), gave occasion to the use in later times of הָעֵדוּת, as a general designation of the law. From the obligation imposed on the brother of marrying the childless widow of his brother, expressed in the term יָבֵם, arose the designation of the widow herself, as יְבֵמָה, Ruth i. 15, but which already occurred in Deut. xxv. 7, 9. To denote enrolment in the genealogical tables, which was at first expressed merely by הַתֵּיִלָּר (*natales suos profiteri*), (Num. i. 18,) הַתִּיהָשׁ is used in the later books; and for עָנָה נַפְשׁ, "to afflict the soul," that is to fast, (Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 27, 32; Num. xxix. 7,) צוֹם was afterwards used. The changed relation of the tribes to one another after the settlement in Canaan is seen in the varied usage of מִשְׁפָּחָה, even the earlier prophets (Amos iii. 1; Mic. ii. 3) no longer limiting it as in the Pentateuch to the individual tribes or the families of which they were composed. So also בֵּית אָב "family," does not occur in the later books, except only in 1 Chron. v. 24, which is an imitation of the older style.

¹ Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 1241.

Notwithstanding, however, as already remarked, the general uniformity of the Biblical Hebrew, caused in part by the influence exercised by the Pentateuch itself on the style of the subsequent writers, the language of the Pentateuch displays, in addition to the peculiarities just mentioned, manifold tokens of its great antiquity. These may be conveniently arranged under three heads.

1. *Grammatical peculiarities of the Pentateuch.*—The most striking of these are: The absence of a distinction of gender in the pronoun הוּא, which is used indifferently for *he* and *she*, although in the latter case the punctuators write it הִיא. The ground-form of the demonstrative pronoun is seen in לָהּ, Gen. xxiv. 65; xxxvii. 19, occurring nowhere else except in Isa. lviii. 5, where, however, it is used emphatically, which is not the case in the Pentateuch.¹ The older form, לוֹ, of the same pronoun occurs only in the Pentateuch, and 1 Chron. xx. 8, and always with the article הָאֵל.² The form נִהְנִי of the first person plural of the personal pronoun occurs four times in the Pentateuch, Gen. xlii. 11; Num. xxxii. 32; Ex. xvi. 7, 8, elsewhere only twice, 2 Sam. xvii. 12; Lam. iii. 42. Of suffixes there is the old uncontracted form הִי in Gen. i. 12, 21; subsequently in prose compositions only in Judg. xix. 24. The verbal suffix יָמִי, in Ex. xv. 5, is unique and ancient. The abbreviation of the imperative, presented in the forms שְׁמַעַן, Gen. iv. 23, and קְרָאן, Ex. ii. 20, is peculiar to the Pentateuch.—The Niphal form of the verbs פָּא throughout, retains its guttural formation;³ but only in the Pentateuch is the original retained, נֶאֱהָו, Num. xxxii. 30, and only again in Josh. xxii. 9, which is a citation of this passage. Another peculiarity is the transposition of the ה in Hithpael with other letters than dentals, to which elsewhere the practice is restricted, as הִתְחַצַּב for חִתְחַצַּב, Ex. ii. 4. The infinitive constr. of נָתַן has only in the Pentateuch its original form, נָתֵן, Gen. xxxviii. 9; Num. xx. 21. The termination of the *status constr.* in ך in prose, is peculiar to the Pentateuch, being found only in the expression, הִיתָו אֲרֶץ, “the beast of the earth,” Gen.

¹ Hävernicks, Einleit. I. i. 183.

³ Hävernicks, Einleit. I. i. 185.

² Gesenius, Gram. § 34.

i. 24, from which, according to Ewald,¹ it is repeated in connexion with the same word in Ps. l. 10 ; civ. 11, 20 ; Zeph. ii. 14 ; Isa. lvi. 9. It occurs in poetry in בְּנוֹ "son," Num. xxiv. 3, 15. The termination ך, also rare in prose, is a characteristic of the Pentateuch, Gen. xxxi. 39 ; Lev. xxvi. 42 ; comp. Jer. xxxiii. 30. The word נָעַר, without distinction of gender, denotes both a *young man* and *maid*. The abstract formation, with מ prefixed, is used with respect to relations of time only in the Pentateuch : thus מִשְׁלֹשׁ "a space of three months," (Gen. xxxviii. 24) ; מוֹשָׁב "the time of residence," (Ex. xii. 40.)

Syntactical peculiarities of the Pentateuch are : the use of the pronoun separate in the *casus obliquus* without a preceding pronoun, as לֵאשֶׁת נָם הָיָא יֵלֶךְ (Gen. iv. 26 ; see also x. 25), instead of which later writers used לוֹ (see 2 Sam. vi. 23). The influence of the suffix, too, in altering the form of the following noun, but without giving it the suffix, as עֹי וְזִמְרָה "my strength and song," (Ex. xv. 2,) instead of זִמְרָתִי ; the same is imitated² in Is. xii. 2 ; Ps. cxviii. 14. The adversative particle אֲבָלִם "on the contrary," LXX. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ, is thus used almost exclusively in the Pentateuch and the book of Job.

2. *Lexical Peculiarities.*—Peculiar and ancient terms are : אָנָּן, "pain," "smart," only in Gen. xxxv. 18 ; Deut. xxvi. 14, for which the later books have אָנָּן, except Hos. ix. 4, where there is evidently a reference to the Pentateuch.

אֲמָתַחַת, "a corn-sack," occurs fifteen times in Genesis, but nowhere else. אָסֹן, "hurt," is used five times in the Pentateuch, (Gen. xlii. 4, 38 ; xliv. 29 ; Exod. xxi. 22, 23,) but not elsewhere.

נֹזֶל, applied to young birds, Gen. xv. 9, Deut. xxxii. 11, for which the later books use simply בֶּן.—בֶּחֶן, "belly," Gen. iii. 14 ; Lev. xi. 42.

Besides the usual term בֶּבֶשׁ, "lamb," the form בֶּשֶׁב occurs fourteen times in the Pentateuch, but nowhere else.

מִין, "species," or kind, is found twenty-eight times in the Pentateuch, elsewhere only in Ezek. xlvii. 10, borrowed from

¹ Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache, § 211, b.

² Gesenius, Gram. § 150, 3 c.

Gen. i. 21, and for which term even in the Davidic age it was used, Ps. clxiv. 13.

עִמִּית, "neighbour," occurs nine times (Lev. v. 21; xviii. 20; xix. 11, 15, 17; xxiv. 19; xxv. 14, 15, 17); elsewhere only in Zech. xiii. 7, and apparently in a somewhat different sense.

Instead of the older form צָחַק, "to laugh," the only one which occurs in the Pentateuch, the later writers use, except in two passages,¹ (Judg. xvi. 25; Ezek. xxiii. 32,) the softer form יִצְחַק. To this gradual substitution of the softer sounds for the harder and rougher, is to be ascribed the use of ו for ז, even in the proper name Isaac, by the prophets Amos (vii. 9) and Jeremiah, (xxxiii. 26). So also in Ps. cv. 9.

נִקְבָּה, "female," is used twenty-one times in the Pentateuch, and only again in Jer. xxxi. 22, where there is clearly a reference to Num. vi. 30.

The verb קָבַב, "to hollow out," is found nowhere but in the Pentateuch, (*e.g.* Num. xxii. 11, 17). The other books use נָקַב, a term also occurring in the Pentateuch.—קָרַי, and בִּקְרֵי, "hostile encounters," is seven times used in the Pentateuch, but only there.—קָרַן, "to emit rays," only in Ex. xxxiv. 29, xxx. 35, for which elsewhere נָנִיחַ is used.

שָׁעִיר, "a goat," occurs fifty times in the Pentateuch, but nowhere else.—שָׁנָר, "offspring," only in the Pentateuch.—שְׁלֵשִׁים, "great grandchildren,"² only in Genesis, (l. 25,) Exodus, (xx. 5, xxxiv. 7,) Numbers, (xiv. 28,) and Deuteronomy, (v. 9).—שִׁכְבָּה, "effusion," is nine times used in the Bible, but only in the Pentateuch.

תִּבְבֵּל, "foul pollution," only in the Pentateuch.—תַּחֲרָא, "coat of mail," only in Exodus, (xxviii. 32, xxxix. 23); a later form is שָׁרִיץ, (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 38,)—שָׁרִיחַ, of the same signification, occurs in Job xli. 18.

מָכֶם, "tribute," only in Num. xxxi. 28, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, —מִכָּסֶּה, "a number," only in Ex. xii. 4; and meaning "a price" in Lev. xxvii. 23.—מִכְסֶּה, "covering" of the tabernacle, (Ex. xxvi. 14, xxxvi. 19); of the ark, (Gen. viii. 13).

חֹזֶה, "breast of animals," is found thirteen times in the

¹ Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 1163.

² Ibid, p. 1428.

Pentateuch, but nowhere else.—**רָגָלִים**, in the sense of “times,” literally *strokes*, occurs nowhere save in the Pentateuch; its equivalent in the other books is **פְּעָמִים**, and which also occurs in the Pentateuch.—**עָרָר**, “to be redundant,” is found in the Pentateuch nine times, but not elsewhere.—**עֶשְׂרִית**, “a tenth part,” is used only in the Pentateuch, but there twenty-six times.

The words **אֶסְפָּסָף**, “mixed multitude,” (Num. xi. 4,) and **קָלִקָּל**, “vile,” or light, with reference to food, (Num. xxi. 5,) occur nowhere else.

רָחַרַח, “to brood,” or “hover over,” in Piel, occurs only in Gen. i. 2; Deut. xxxii. 11.

וְאֵת, as a particle, like *et* for *et*, **וְהָיָה**, occurs nine times, and in imitation of this usage in Josh. vi. 2, viii. 1; comp. Gen. xli. 41. Afterwards it is found only in 1 Sam. vii. 2; 2 Sam. xv. 3.

3. *Peculiar Expressions and Phrases.* Of these the following are the more noted:—Geographical designations: the country on the east side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, is in the Pentateuch named **עֲרֵבוֹת מוֹאָב**, “plains of Moab,”—a name which again occurs only in Josh. xiii. 32, and in reference to the division of the land by Moses, as previously narrated in the Pentateuch. So also the designation **בְּאֶרֶץ מוֹאָב** occurs only in the Pentateuch in reference to this district; comp. Deut. i. 5, xxviii. 69, [xxix. 1,] xxxii. 49. “But,” as Hengstenberg remarks, “the later non-occurrence of these designations is of so much greater importance, because the reason of it may be shewn to lie in the facts of the case. That the designation was still current in the Mosaic age, must appear as very natural. That district had been wrested by the Amorites from the Moabites only a short time before the invasion of the Israelites, so that the remembrance of its former possessors was still fresh. But in the course of time the designation would vanish away with the remembrance of the fact. But supposing that it had lasted till the time of the Judges, it would certainly be dropped after a war had arisen in it, on the ground of the earlier Moabitish possession. In the book of Judges, (xi. 12 sq.,) in the detail of the negotiations respect-

ing this district, between Jephthah and the king of the Ammonites, not a trace is found of this name. The land is only called the land of the Amorites." ¹ The designation, too, of the Jordan in the neighbourhood of Jericho, by יְרֵחוֹ יַרְדֵּן, is found only in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua. The orthography of יַרְדֵּן itself deserves some notice. It is so written throughout the Pentateuch; but in the book of Joshua, and in all writings prior to the captivity, with the exception of 2 Sam. x. 5, it is invariably יְרֵחוֹ; while, during and after the captivity, the old form was resumed, (see Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8; Ezra ii. 34; Neh. iii. 2, vii. 36).²

The phrase, נֶאֱסַף אֶל-עַמּוֹ, "to be gathered to his people," used in reference to death, is the regular form in the Pentateuch; but it is not used in the other books; and in its stead is used the phrase, "to sleep with his fathers." A peculiar phrase is "their shadow (צֵלָם) is departed from them," (Num. xiv. 9,) an old poetical phrase for their help is taken away, they are helpless. רֵיחַ הַגִּיחָה, "the sweet savour of an offering," pleasing to God, is of frequent occurrence in the Pentateuch, and for which afterwards was used, in 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, יְרַח מִנְחָה. The older form recurs in Ezek. vi. 13; xx. 28, 41, manifestly adopted from the Pentateuch. The usual expression for "cohabitation," in the Pentateuch is נָלַךְ עִרְוָה (*e. g.*, Lev. xviii. 8;) elsewhere found only in Ezek. xxii. 10, evidently with allusion to Lev. xx. 11. In later writers the analogous phrase, נָלַךְ מִרְגִּלּוֹת, (Ruth iii. 4,) alone occurs. The change of meaning in this expression at a subsequent period may be seen in Isa. lxvii. 2.

The phrase, קוּמָה יְהוָה, "rise up, Jehovah," the address to God at the setting forward of the Ark, (Num. x. 35,) is from this proper and historical usage employed in the Psalms in the figurative sense of "help." Another peculiar phrase of the Pentateuch is כָּסָה אֶת-עֵינֵי הָאָרֶץ, "to cover the eye of the earth," (Ex. x. 5, 15; Num. xxii. 5, 11,) an expression wherein the earth is poetically represented as a female with a veiled countenance.

¹ Balaam and his Prophecies, p. 543.

² Ibid. p. 543. Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 1273.

חֹדֶשׁ אָבִיב, "the month Abib," or of the ears of corn, (Ex. xiii.; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18; Deut. xvi. 1,) is a designation peculiar to the Pentateuch; indeed, subsequently the word אָבִיב, whether used apart, as in Ex. ix. 31, "the barley was in the ear," אָבִיב, or in this and the combination קֶלֶי אָבִיב, "roasted ears of corn," (Lev. ii. 14,) entirely disappears. For the latter expression is used simply קֶלֶי, Josh. v. 11, and more frequently קֶלֶי, Lev. xxiii. 14; Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 17, &c.

בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים, "between the two evenings," the time at which the Paschal lamb was to be killed, Ex. xii. 6; xvi. 12.

חַג הָאָסִיף, "the feast of ingathering," or the feast of Tabernacles, is thus named only in Ex. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22; even the word אָסִיף itself occurs not elsewhere.

אָסַר אָסֵר עַל-נַפְשׁוֹ, "ligavit ligationem, i.e., interdictum superse, Num. xxx. 3-15. פָּלֵא נָדַר, rem votam dedicare, seu consecrare, Lev. xxii. 21; Num. xv. 3, 8, and also הִפְלִיא נ', Lev. xxvii. 2; Num. vi. 2.

The phrase שָׂאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ, designating "a near" or "blood relation," Lev. xviii. 6; xxv. 49; and שָׂאֵר simply with like import, Lev. xviii. 12, 13; xx. 19; xxi. 2; Num. xxvii. 1, and also שְׂאֵרָה, "consanguinity," Lev. xviii. 17, are peculiar to the Pentateuch. In the later books, שָׂאֵר, signifies "flesh," as in Ex. xxi. 10, "flesh," equivalent to "food," or "aliment."

עֶרְוַת הָאָרֶץ, "the nakedness of the land," Gen. xlii. 9, 12. מִטְחֵי קֶשֶׁת, "a bowshot," Gen. xxi. 16, instead of the later phrase, מִשְׁבֵּי קֶשֶׁת, Isa. lxvi. 19; 1 Kings xxii. 34; or קִיטָּה, Ps. vii. 13, &c.

What has been thus adduced of single words, or idiomatic expressions and other peculiarities of style and construction, more or less testifying to an early stage of Hebrew literature, is enough to refute the allegations of such as hold that the language of the Pentateuch differs in no respect from that of the other historical books, and that the assumption of its being separated from them by an interval of nearly a thousand years, is altogether incredible. But as Deuteronomy has been a chief object of attack, on the ground that much of its phraseology is of a more recent cast than that of the other books of the

Pentateuch, some brief notice must in conclusion be taken of the more important particulars adduced by De Wette,¹ Vater,² Gesenius,³ and others, with respect to that composition.

Gesenius adduces **בְּדַבַּק**, “to rely upon,” or rather “to cleave to,” used in reference to God, (Deut. x. 20 ; xi. 22 ;) but the very same construction occurs in Gen. ii. 24 ; xxxiv. 3, though in reference to another object,—a circumstance however which makes no material difference. Another term to which objection is taken is **גִּדְּלָה** as equivalent to **גְּבוּרָה**, “greatness,” majesty of God, (Deut. v. 21 ; ix. 26.) That the two words are, however, entirely distinct, appears from the former of these passages, where they both occur. **גִּדְּלָה** is used of God in Num. xiv. 19, a passage strictly parallel with Deut. ix. 26. It is not **גִּדְּלָה** but **גִּדְּלָהּ**, (Ps. cxlv. 3 ; 1 Chron. xxix. 11,) that is the more recent word. Again, the phrase, **בְּעֶרְתָּ הָרַע מִקִּרְבְּךָ**, “to put away evil from the midst of you,” (Deut. xiii. 6, &c.,) is later, Gesenius maintains, than the more usual form, “that soul shall be rooted out.” But the two expressions are not identical. The latter does not always denote capital punishment, but a deprivation of theocratic privileges, (see Lev. vii. 18, sq., xvii., where it is equivalent to **נָשָׂא עֹן**, to bear his guilt.) The other phrase is of a more definite character, intimating the removal of the wicked by a capital punishment. Besides, that it is not of later origin, appears from Judg. xx. 13, where it occurs with special reference to the Pentateuch.

Further, according to Gesenius, Deuteronomy has several phrases almost peculiar to itself and Jeremiah, *e. g.*, **נָתַן לְיוֹעֵזָה לְ**, to give up (xxviii. 25 ; comp. Jer. xv. 4 ; xxiv. 9 ; xxix. 18 ; xxxiv. 17 ;) and he adds that the phrase occurs nowhere else except in 2 Chron. xxix. 8. This is not correct, the phrase in Deuteronomy is **הָיָה לְיוֹעֵזָה לְ**, the older form **וְיוֹעֵזָה**, for which Isaiah, (xxviii. 10,) has the later **וְיוֹעֵזָה**, and so also Jeremiah ; only Ezekiel, in imitation of the Pentateuch, resumes the old form, Ezek. xxiii. 46. Besides Jeremiah, in all the passages where the word occurs, shows by the addition of the words, “all the kingdoms of the earth,” that he had Deut. xxviii. 25 imme-

¹ Einleitung, § 156a

² Geschichte der Heb., Sprache, § 11.

³ Abhandlung üb. die Verfasser, § 40.

diately in view. Another term alleged to be peculiar to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah is שָׁבַל, "to cut off the young men," Deut. xxxii. 25 : comp. Jer. xv. 7 ; xxxvi. 13-15 ; Lam. i. 20. This word occurs also in the other books of the Pentateuch in its proper sense, to bereave of children, Gen. xlii. 36, an act ascribed to wild beasts, Lev. xxvi. 22, as in Deut. xxxii. 25, to the sword, "without the sword devours." Besides, in the passages cited by Gesenius, Jer. xxxvi. 13-15, is erroneously given instead of Ezek. xxxvi. 13-15. רָבַר סָרָה עַל, "to teach apostasy from God," Deut. xiii. 6 ; compare Jer. xxviii. 16 ; xxix. 32. In the former of these two passages there is a slight difference of construction in the use of אֶל instead of עַל ; but that is of no moment, the entire phrase occurs quite naturally in the law respecting false prophets, and not less so when this law is cited and applied by the Prophet. But all such similarities of expression are only indications, as already shown, of the influence of the Pentateuch on the subsequent writers, particularly Jeremiah, between whose productions and Deuteronomy Gesenius detects so great a resemblance.

One of the expressions which Hartmann regards as of later origin, is קָרָא שֵׁם "to call upon the name of Jehovah, to worship him" (Deut. xxxii. 3), as compared with the earlier form קָרָא בְּשֵׁם (Gen. iv. 26 ; xii. 8 ; Ex. xxxiii. 19) ; and found also in the later books, (Ps. lxxix. 6 ; cv. 1 ; Isa. lxiv. 6 ; Jer. x. 26 ; Zeph. iii. 9). This alone signifies "to call upon, or invoke the name of Jehovah," and is quite distinct from the other phrase, which simply means "to call," or "proclaim the name of Jehovah," "to publish," as correctly given in the English version, to celebrate his praise¹ (see Ps. xcix. 6), although latterly this distinction seems to have fallen into disuse (Lam. iii. 55).

This may serve as a specimen of the criticism employed to invalidate the testimonies to the antiquity of the Pentateuch and Deuteronomy in particular. After what has been already said on the Document-hypothesis, it is unnecessary to express any further opinion on this kindred department of the subject. It only remains to consider the more important of the alleged

¹ Schultz, Das Deuteronomium erklärt, p. 652.

anachronisms, other than linguistic, for with regard to these enough has been already advanced.

SECT. IV. THE ALLEGED TRACES OF A LATER AGE IN THE PENTATEUCH.

Witsius, *An Moses auctor Pentateuchi*:—Miscel. Sacra, T. i. Lib. i. cap. 14, pp. 102-130. Trajecti, 1692.—Graves, *Texts collected by Le Clerc, considered and answered*. Lectures, Appendix, vol. i., pp. 332-352.—Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, vol. ii., 179 ff. E. T., pp. 146-282.—Welte, *Nachmosaisches im Pentateuch*. Carlsruhe, 1841.—Keil, *Einleitung*, § 38, pp. 151-157.

In opposition to the inductive arguments advanced in the three preceding sections, and others of a similar kind, the impugners of the genuineness of the Pentateuch confidently point to the numerous marks which it exhibits of a far later age; and of course it will be felt that if such averments can be established, the fact will materially vitiate any indirect or circumstantial testimony which may be adduced to the contrary. It will show, at least, that the document which presents such contradictions, has been corrupted by later interpolations, even if an earlier origin could be claimed for it. The importance of this particular point is accordingly fully recognised both by the defenders and impugners of the genuineness and integrity of the Pentateuch. In earlier times this was indeed the chief point in dispute between Peyreri^{us}, Spinoza, and Hobbes, on the one hand, and Witsius, Le Clerc, and Carpzov on the other; and it still occupies an important place in the attacks of Vater, De Wette, and others. It is, therefore, the more necessary to state the case as precisely as possible, and, in particular, to point out the kind of anachronisms entitled to any weight in this argument.

A distinction, it is obvious, must be made between anachronisms entirely of a subjective character, originating merely in the dogmatic preconceptions of the objectors, and such as relate to strict matters of fact. Thus, for instance, the assumption that there is no such thing as strict prophecy, naturally leads to the conclusion that all passages of Scripture declaratory of matters realised in the history of the Israelitish nation

must have been written subsequent to such events, as when Vater,¹ for instance, objects that the threatening of exile (Lev. xxvi. 35) could have no place previous to the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, and that Gen. xlix. must have been written posterior to the possession of Canaan, and after the Israelitish tribes had experienced the fortunes described in that composition. It is the same with regard to numerous other passages to which objection is taken on similar grounds, and of which sufficient examples have been given already. Of course, such preconceptions are not subject to the laws of critical or historical evidence, which bear only on questions of fact; and it is, therefore, evident that all alleged anachronisms of this nature must be at once set aside as entirely irrelevant to the case.

But even as respects anachronisms which regard matters of fact, and not mere opinions, it is to be observed that the actual existence of such, in order to be available in the present argument, would require to be established on indisputable grounds, and not left simply as a thing of probability, however strong. This condition is indispensable, were it only on account of the antecedent improbability that a writer, who wished his production to pass off as that of an earlier age, and who showed more than ordinary capacity to adapt his point of view accordingly, should expose himself to such glaring contradictions as those charged on the author of the Pentateuch. "To be justified," as Hengstenberg remarks, "in putting the worst construction on the author, he must, first of all, be unmasked on ground where the opposite statements of truth and falsehood exhibit themselves clearly and sharply, and independent of subjective presuppositions."² Before charging the writer with the contradiction, it at least ought to be a prior question whether such may not be entirely owing to insufficient acquaintance with the circumstances of the case on the part of the reader contemplating the matter from a point of view in many respects totally dissimilar to that of the author. This precaution, it is very obvious, is not always sufficiently attended to in this matter.

¹ Abhandlung üb. die Verfasser, § 74. ² Authentic, E. T., ii. 146.
Commentar. iii. 639, 641.

But, again, with respect to the method of obviating objections of this nature, it is important also to bear in mind that it is a very unsatisfactory and also unsafe expedient for the defender of the Pentateuch to endeavour to dispose of any alleged anachronisms on the mere assumption of interpolations,¹ for such an admission is utterly inconsistent with the character and claims of the document, as the sacred book of the nation; with which none, even if disposed, would be allowed to tamper.

The more important of the alleged anachronisms of the Pentateuch, relative to matters of fact, may be arranged under the three heads of geographical, historical, and miscellaneous.

§ 1. *Geographical Anachronisms.*

Of these there are two classes: First, places denoted by names which, it is alleged on the testimony of other books of Scripture, they received only subsequent to the conquest of Canaan.

1. Of this description is **HEBRON** (Gen. xiii. 18; xxiii. 2. Num. xiii. 22), which, it is assumed from Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13, was not so named until after the entrance into Canaan, its ancient designation being **Kirjath-Arba** (Gen. xxiii. 2). The converse of this, however, is the case. That Hebron was the original name is sufficiently proved by the fact that the first notice of it is under this designation, without any explanatory addition (Gen. xiii. 18). In Abraham's time it was also called **Mamre** (Gen. xxiii. 19), from an Amorite prince who possessed "the oak-groves" in its vicinity, and who was confederate with Abraham (xiii. 18; xiv. 13). At a later period, but prior to the Mosaic age, the **Anakim**, a race of giants (Deut. ii. 11, 12), got possession of the place, when it received the name of **Kirjath-Arba**, or the city of **Arba**, who is styled, in Josh. xiv. 15, "a great man among the Anakim." This people were in possession of the place when the spies were sent out to search the land (Num. xiii. 22), and, of course, the name **Kirjath-Arba** continued up to the period of the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites, who, on wresting it

¹ As, for instance, Horne, Introduction, vol. i. pp. 65-68.

from the Anakim, restored the ancient name Hebron. A mistake, moreover, in connection with the name of this city, was in the highest degree improbable, on account of the author's professed intimate acquaintance with its history (Num. xiii. 22).

But, indeed, the occurrence of the three names, Mamre, Kirjath-Arba, and Hebron (Gen. xxxv. 27), so far from promoting the cause of the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, is itself a proof of its being a production of the Mosaic age; for in the immediately succeeding period, only Kirjath and Hebron occur, and with the important remark that *formerly* (כִּי־בָּרָא) the name of the city had been Kirjath-Arba (Josh. xiv. 15; Judg. i. 10), while in the Pentateuch, on the contrary, this appears as the contemporaneous name.¹

2. DAN, the name of a place, occurring in Gen. xiv. 14; Deut. xxxiv. 1., the opponents of the genuineness would identify with a locality of the same name, and so called after the tribe of Dan, who, on capturing it in an expedition in the time of the Judges, changed its original name, Laish or Leshim, into Dan (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29). In addition to the resemblance of name, that of situation, the northern extremity of Canaan, is appealed to in proof of this identity. But the antecedent improbability, admitting it to be such, of the existence of two places of the same name, in nearly the same locality, is counterbalanced by the mention, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, of Dan-Jaan, between Gilead and the country round about Zidon, and so in the neighbourhood of Dan, or what, from this adjunct of Jaan, it may have been intended to represent as Dan-Laish.²

3. BETHEL, so frequently referred to in the history of the patriarchs (Gen. xii. 8; xxviii. 19; xxxv. 15), is also declared by those who would assign a later date to the Pentateuch, to be a post-Mosaic name, as it was still in the time of Joshua (xviii. 13) called Luz, the name which Jacob is said (Gen. xxviii. 19) to have changed into Bethel. But, on that occasion, this name was given, not to the town Luz, but to a place in its vicinity (Gen. xxxv. 15). The same distinction is maintained, even in the history of the conquest (Josh. xvi. 1, 2)

¹ Hävernicks, Einleit. I. ii. 307. E. T., page 146.

² Hengstenberg, Authentie, E. T. ii. 157. Kalisch, Genesis, p. 358.

And though, from the time of Jacob, this name was, by his descendants, transferred to the town itself (Gen. xxxv. 6), its Canaanitish inhabitants continued the ancient name Luz. Not until the Israelites had captured the place did it actually receive the name Bethel (Judg. i. 22-26), which hitherto had but a prophetic existence. After this the name of Luz entirely disappears. A proof of the origin of the name Bethel, in connection with Jacob's history, is found in Hos. iv. 15 ; xii. 5. But the very fact of the bestowal of the name Bethel on Luz, as soon as it was taken by the Israelites, is one of the strongest possible confirmations of the history of Genesis.¹ It stands in no relation to any fact connected with the time of Joshua ; it clearly points to some incident of a period long previous to the invasion of the land ; some patriarchal reminiscence, the nature of which is intimated in the name. The same circumstance also led to this locality being chosen for the place of the Ark of the Covenant during the war with the Benjamites, and the convocation of Israel on the conclusion of that war (Judg. xx. 18, 26), while its ancient sacred character was probably taken into account by Jeroboam, when he made it the chief seat of his idolatrous worship.

4. **HORMAH.** The occasion in which this name originated, as stated in Num. xxi. 1-3, is regarded by many as at variance with Josh. xii. 14, and they therefore maintain that in the former passage the fact must be referred to proleptically, and of course that it must have been written after the Mosaic age. The circumstance was so regarded even by Reland, from the narrative being opposed to his views of the geography of the scene.² But the whole difficulty vanishes before the light which modern travel has thrown on the character of this locality. The Israelites, penetrating northward "by the way of the spies," came to the mountain range, called the mountain of the Amorites (Deut. i. 7, &c.), which forms the southern boundary of Canaan in that quarter, and encountered the Amalekites and Canaanites, who inhabited those mountainous ranges (Num. xiv. 45). The

¹ See Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T., ii. 164. *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. *Bethel*, i. 198. Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 217) notices the "precision" with which Abraham's second resting place, in the neighbourhood of Bethel,

is described (Gen. xii. 8, 9)—"the more to be noticed, because it makes the whole difference in the truth and vividness of the remarkable scene which follows."

² *Palaestina*, lib. iii., p. 536. Norimb. 1716.

Israelites were driven back and smitten, "even unto Hormah," which was thus clearly on the southern side of the mountain. The locality is further described as belonging strictly to Seir: "And destroyed you in Seir, even unto Hormah," (Deut. i. 4). "Hence," as Hengstenberg remarks, "when, at a later period, Hormah and the surrounding places were taken and put under a curse by the Israelites, their principal object was not yet gained. The chief power of the kings of Arad remained unconquered; the mountain boundary was insurmountable." When the Israelites withdrew, after these partial advantages, from this region, the destroyed cities would be again restored. Hormah (*proscribed*) would resume its old name Zephath (Judg. i. 17), so that it was reserved for a later age to reduce it again into Hormah. The king of Hormah is in the list of kings conquered by Joshua (xii. 14), but it was not till the joint expedition of the tribes of Simeon and Judah that the place permanently became Hormah (Judg. i. 17). "That the name of the city was then altered, shows how vivid the recollection was of what had happened there in the days of Moses, and, far from contradicting the narrative in the Pentateuch, serves to confirm it."¹ Of course the first occurrence of the name, in Num. xiv. 45, is, indeed, so far proleptical, as the name Hormah originated in the event subsequently recorded in chap. xxi. 1-31.

5. HAVOTH-JAIR was the designation of a considerable number of towns in the land of Gilead, captured by Jair, a Manassite, after whom they were thus named, "the dwellings" or "towns of Jair," (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14). But as mention is made in Judges x. 4 of an Israelitish Judge of that name, whose thirty sons "had thirty cities, which are called Havoth-Jair, which are in the land of Gilead," the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch maintain that the author transferred to the Mosaic age a person who lived much later.

But in favour of the existence of an earlier Jair, there is first the name *Havoth*, הַיֹּת, itself, which presents the same archaism as הַיֹּת, with which it is etymologically connected.²

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T. ii. 180, 181.

² Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 451. Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*, p. 526.

There is, further, the genealogy in 1 Chron. ii. 18-22, compared with Num. xxvi. 29-33. Mention is also made in Josh. xiii. 30 of the Havoth-Jair, as included in the Mosaic division of the trans-Jordanic region. On the other hand, there is no difficulty whatever in admitting the existence of a second Jair, probably a descendant of the first; while, as even Bertheau¹ observes, the statement in the book of Judges in no way implies that the cities were called after the sons of the second Jair.²

Another class of alleged geographical anachronisms includes such names of places as are accompanied by some explanatory remarks. Thus: "Bela, which is Zoar," or, "the same is Zoar," (Gen. xiv. 2, 8); "En-mishpat, which is Kadesh," (xiv. 7). "The valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale," (xiv. 17); "Ephrath, which is Bethlehem," (xxxv. 19, xlviii. 7); "Mount Sihon, which is Hermon," (Dent. iv. 48). Another example of the same kind—"Mamre, which is Hebron," (Gen. xxiii. 19,)—has been already considered under the preceding head.

On this usage it may in general be remarked, that, with the exception of one instance, it is confined to the book of Genesis, and is thus adopted with respect to a period long anterior to the composition of the Pentateuch. It is an explanation, necessary to the author's contemporaries, of names of places for which, in the course of time, others were substituted,—the ancient designations having been entirely forgotten, or being rarely used. It cannot, therefore, in any sense of the term, be regarded as involving anachronisms, unless it can be shewn that the new names came into use only subsequently to the Mosaic age; but for such a supposition there is no evidence, as all the names, with the exception of "the valley of the king," which is not again mentioned till 2 Sam. xviii. 16, are referred to as well known in the books which treat of the immediately succeeding period, or their origin is recorded in the Pentateuch itself. Thus the name of Zoar (small) originated in Lot's entreaty for its preservation from the destruc-

¹ Das Buch der Richter, p. 149.

graphical Sketch of Bashan, Jour. Sac.

² On other questions connected with Havoth-jair, see Porter, Historico-Geo-

Lit., July 1854, p. 309.

tion which overtook the other cities of the plain, (Gen. xix. 20, 22). The name Ephratha, אֶפְרַתָּה, "the fertile town," is nearly synonymous with its more usual name, בֵּית-לֶחֶם, "storehouse of corn or bread," mentioned in Josh. xix. 15. The fact of its being there noticed in a description of the tribal inheritances, of itself disproves the assertion,¹ that it is not till long after the occupation of the country by the Israelites this name is met with. The elder name did not entirely disappear, but was sometimes added to the other to give it completeness, (Mic. v. 1). Of Kadesh, or as it was sometimes called, Kadesh-barnea, there is frequent mention in the Pentateuch and book of Joshua,—*e. g.*, Josh. xv. 3.

To Hermon, the only instance not comprehended in the book of Genesis, there is a twofold reference, and therefore it needs to be more particularly noticed. In Deut. iii. 9 it is said: "Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir;" and in chap. iv. 48, "From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river Arnon, even unto mount Sihon, which is Hermon." The various names of Hermon, it is alleged, must have been generally known in the time of Moses, so that a writer of that period could have no occasion thus to mention them. But the supposition that the Sidonian and Amoritish names of Hermon were current among the Israelites in the time of Moses, is not warranted by the circumstances of the case. Indeed, it is much more likely that their information on such matters would be less than at any after-period. This, and other notices of a similar kind occurring in the book of Deuteronomy, (ii. 11, 20,) unmistakeably point to a time when information came to the Israelites in the midst of their new position, which, from its very novelty, excited an interest which rendered it worthy of being recorded,² though, on becoming familiar, it would lose much of its charms. But admitting the above supposition, the objection founded on it is not more applicable to the Mosaic than to any after-period, and is of no value whatever unless it can be shewn that such a statement should not have been recorded at all. The same

¹ Smith's Dictionary, Art. *Bethlehem*, i. 202.

² Hävernicks: "We have here an in-

dication of a contemporary who reports the novelties that he meets with in the land."—Einleit. I. ii. 530.

observation applies to most of the other matters accounted anachronisms, or glosses, but which, on careful examination, furnish indubitable, because indirect evidence, in favour of the composition in which they are contained.

But the two-fold Israelitish name, Sihon and Hermon, needs explanation. Sihon (*the exalted*) must in all likelihood have been the name which the Israelites bestowed on the mountain, on their first beholding it, if not indeed in previous use. The name Hermon again, according to Hengstenberg, pointed it out as "the devoted," or "accursed." To this he thinks there is evident reference in the first passage where the name Hermon occurs, Deut. iii. 6-8. That Hermon itself belonged to the devoted land, appears from Josh. xii. 3. Further, there is "the remarkable parallelism between Hormah, the beginning of the devoted district, and Hermon, its termination, so that the express derivation of the name *הֶרְמון* from the devotion, certainly applies also to *הֶרְמון*. The name was applied to both extremities of the devoted land." "If *הֶרְמון* be equivalent to *הֶרֶם*, then *בַּעַל הֶרְמון* in Judg. iii. 3; 1 Chron. v. 23, may be explained. It simply means *the possessor or bearer of the ban*. Compare *בַּעַל נֵר*, *the possessor of good fortune*, in Josh. xii. 7." "The name Hermon could not have been brought into use till after the event to which it refers. That along with it the name that had hitherto been usual should be given, and that, *primo loco*, must appear to be quite natural."¹ Some of these conclusions are perhaps fanciful, but they are worthy of consideration.

§ 2. Historical Anachronisms.

Of the historical notices or statements which it is alleged could not have proceeded from a writer of the Mosaic age, the following are the more important:—

1. The notices respecting the Canaanites, as the possessors of Palestine in the time of Abraham, Gen. xii. 6, "And the Canaanite was then in the land;" xiii. 7, "And the Canaanite

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T. ii. and Pal. p. 403), who makes Hermon, 197, 198. See, however, Stanley (Sin. "the lofty peak.")

and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land," it is held by ancient and modern opponents of the genuineness, imply that the Canaanites had been expelled Palestine in the time of the writer, and therefore they could not have been penned prior to the conquest.¹

But this interpretation, in the first place, does violence to the writer's statement; for as the original inhabitants were never totally extirpated, it would be inadmissible at any time, at least previous to the Captivity, to use the expression, "the Canaanite was *still* in the land," in connexion with any preceding period. Further, the author had already (Gen. x. 15-19) described the descent of the Canaanites from Ham, and their progress from the south towards Palestine, and they are now represented as in possession of the land towards which "the sons of Eber" were journeying from an opposite direction.² But more particularly the first notice stands in close connexion with the promise to Abraham by which it is immediately followed, "And the Lord appeared unto Abraham, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land," and so serves to exhibit the contrast between the present and the promised future. The purpose of the second notice is not less marked. It is introduced in explanation of the strife which arose between "the herdsmen of Abraham and of Lot," who found themselves straitened, and the pasture inadequate, because they were circumscribed by the native inhabitants. In this instance the Perizzites are also named—the inhabitants of the lowlands, which served for agriculture and pasturage. The Perizzites, it is here intimated, were in possession of the best pasture lands, and hence there was not a sufficiency for the combined herds and flocks of Abraham and Lot.

2. The notice in Gen. xxxvi. 31, "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," is also objected to, inas-

¹ Davidson, Introduc. p. 619.

² Kalisch: "No Hebrew writer could, at any period of the commonwealth, speak of the time when 'the Canaanite was *still* in the land,' as of a by-gone epoch. But, on the other hand, it requires scarcely a proof, that we have to

render those words: 'the Canaanite was *already* in the land.' . . . It is in perfect harmony with the whole progress of our narrative that the Canaanites are represented as having already spread to the land which bore their name."—*Genesis*, p. 337.

much as it could not have been written until the establishment of the Israelitish monarchy. Previous to that form of government no writer, it is said, could institute such a comparison as this. But this assumption entirely overlooks the relation of this statement to the foregoing promises made to the patriarchs of a royal posterity, and especially the passage in the immediately preceding chapter (xxxv. 11). where it is said to Jacob: "kings shall come out of thy loins." The notice thus stands in a similar relation as Deut. xvii. 14, and other passages, in which the establishment of a kingdom is regarded as a necessary step in the development of the people of God. Of course this explanation will not satisfy those who take refuge in the assumption that in a simple historical style a statement having any such prophetic reference, "is not only preposterous, but impossible;"¹ but, as remarked at the outset of this section, against prepossessions of this kind, this is not the place to argue.

3. Another objection brought against this same chapter (Gen. xxxvi.) is, that in giving the history of the Edomites it embraces a more extended period than that between Esau and Moses, or 2000 years, and so down nearly to the time of Saul, according to Rawlinson, who, on that account regards ver. 31-39 as an interpolation.² Indeed some, as Von Bohlen,³ go so far as to maintain that Hadad, the fourth Edomite king, (ver. 35), was a contemporary of Solomon, (1 Kings xi. 14), but on no other ground than the mere similarity of names. So palpable, however, is the absurdity, that it is unnecessary to discuss the point. But with regard to the general objection, it must be admitted to be of a more plausible character, for at first sight the time does seem too limited for the transactions recorded. A more careful examination of the contents of the chapter will however effectually obviate any such difficulty. Ver. 1-8 contain a notice of Esau's family while resident in Canaan; ver. 9-14 a further notice of his family on his removal to Seir; ver. 15-19, the names of the tribes of

¹ Kalisch, Genesis, p. 601.

this passage was transferred from 1 Chron. i. 43-50.

² Bampton Lectures, p. 448. An acquaintance with the relation of Chronicles to the earlier Books, would at least have precluded the supposition that

³ Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert, p. 342.

the Edomites, which, like those of the Israelites, took their names from the nearest descendants of Esau, and each of which had its *Alluph* or prince; ver. 20-30, the descendants of Seir, the Horite, who possessed Idumea previous to Esau's immigration thither; ver. 31-39, a list of the Edomitish kings, eight in number. The last of these was evidently contemporary with the author of the history, for he does not, as in all the other cases, add, "and he died;"¹ while, moreover, the most minute particulars are given as to his family connexions, as the name of his wife and also of her father and grandfather. In ver. 40-43 is an enumeration of the Edomitish Alluphim, according to their local distribution, "according to their families, after their places, by their names," and "according to their habitations in the land of their possession."

The fourteen Alluphim or Sheiks, named before the kings, were contemporaneous with these, and did not form a prior dynasty; while the list which follows that of the kings, only specifies the localities of the foresaid Alluphim or their successors. That the Alluphim and the kings existed at the same time, would appear from the fact that not one of the kings is the son of his predecessor, and all take their origin in different localities, which makes it very probable that the monarchy was elective, chosen by and from the Alluphim. There was evidently something of this kind in the time of Ezekiel, for he speaks of the princes of Edom, with her kings, chap. xxxii. 29. But, indeed, the evidence of the fact of such contemporaneous institutions is even more indubitable in the Mosaic age. In Num. xx. 14, mention is made of an embassy sent by Moses to the king of Edom, while in Ex. xv. 15, the "Alluphim of Edom" are expressly introduced as "amazed" on hearing of Israel's passage through the Red Sea. It thus appears that although the Edomite kings may have had the chief command, the old patriarchal government by sheiks of tribes was retained; just as many of the large tribes of Bedawin at the present day have one chief, with the title of Emir, who takes the lead in great emergencies; while each division of the tribe enjoys perfect independence under its own sheik.² Taking

¹ In 1 Chron. i. 51, this is appropriately supplied—"Hadad died also."

² Smith's Dictionary, art. *Edomites*, i. 490.

these circumstances into account, the transactions recorded in this chapter would not require for their accomplishment so great a period as might at first sight be supposed, and certainly, in the entire absence of all chronological data on the subject, it is utterly unwarrantable to suppose that it must have extended beyond the Mosaic age.¹

4. The remark relative to the continuance of the supply of manna, Ex. xvi. 35, "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan," would seem to extend beyond the time of Moses, particularly when taken in connexion with the statement in Josh. v. 11, 12, according to which the manna ceased after the Israelites passed the Jordan, and so after the death of Moses. But Hengstenberg² observes that there is nothing in the passage incompatible with its composition previous to the death of Moses. The writer intimates that the manna was not a transient benefit, intended for a sudden and passing emergency, but lasted during the whole period of their wanderings, from the first to the fortieth year, when they reached the confines of an inhabited country, where such provision would be no longer required. It is not of the cessation of the manna that the historian here writes, but of its continuance: the term *וְעַד*, *until*, determines nothing as to the time when the manna ceased. Besides, the term "forty years" must be taken as a round number, for the manna strictly lasted about one month less, having commenced in the second month after the exodus (Ex. xvi. 1), and ceased on the day after the first Pass-over celebrated on the west side of the Jordan.

5. It is further objected by Vater³ and De Wette,⁴ that, in Deut. ii. 12, the conquest of Canaan is referred to as a fact already accomplished: "The Horims also dwelt in Seir before-time; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession which the Lord gave unto them;" and that the boundaries of the properties are spoken of as if they had been fixed long before,

¹ See Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T. ii. 238.

² *Com. üb. den Pentateuch*, iii. 698.

³ *Einleitung*, § 160.

⁴ *Authentic*, E. T. ii. 171.

(Deut. xix. 14.) "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it."

To obviate the first of these objections, and one of long standing, there is no need to suppose, with Le Clerc,¹ that the author refers to the conquest of the trans-Jordanic region, for regarding simply the object of this statement, which was to encourage Israel in the work to which they were now called, by showing them that the same things had been effected by others, it must be at once apparent, that by the use of the preterite עָשָׂה, the work is not described as *finished*, but only as begun and still in progress. To understand it otherwise, were to introduce not an anachronism, but a contradiction so utterly opposed to the whole tenor of the book, and also to some of its most express statements, (*e. g.*, chap. vii. 1,) that scarcely any author could be chargeable with it. The other objection originates simply from attaching some definite historical import to an obviously proverbial expression, the origin of which must be older than the settlement in Canaan, for that certainly was not the first occasion on which landmarks had been set up to settle neighbouring boundaries.

6. AGAG, in Balaam's prophecy, (Num. xxiv. 7,) some opponents of the genuineness, would identify with the Amalekite king of that name in 1 Sam. xv. 8. But that this is not a proper name, but the title of the Amalekite kings,¹ is favoured by numerous analogies, as Pharaoh was the common name of the kings of Egypt, Abimelech, of those of the Philistines, and Jabin, of the kings of Hazor; comp. Josh. xiv. 1, with Jud. iv. 2. Besides, nowhere else in Balaam's prophecy is an individual named. In 1 Sam. xv., also, the title only is given, in order to effect the greatest possible correspondence in form between the prediction and the account of its fulfilment.

Another objection, more, however, of the nature of a contradiction than of an anachronism, is supposed to occur in Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, compared with xiv. 7. According to the

¹ Diss. de Script. Pentateuchi, § 3, 15.

² Smith's Dictionary, Art. *Agag*. i. 26. Art. *Amalekite* i. 56.

first passage, Amalek, who must be the ancestor of the Amalekites, was a grandson of Esau, while in the other passage the Amalekites appear as early as the time of Abraham, while they are further described as the most ancient of nations, Num. xxiv. 20. It is however to be observed, that in Gen. xiv. 7, it is not the Amalekites, but their country, the land subsequently possessed by that people, that is described as smitten by the confederate kings: "And they returned, and came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezontamar." In the last clause, and in every other instance, there is a marked contrast between the *people* that were smitten and the *land*, which is mentioned only in the case of the Amalekites. With regard to Num. xxiv. 20, it is only necessary to consider that ראשית נָוִים does not mean, "the most ancient of the nations," but the *beginning* of the nations, the sense in which ראשית is used throughout the Pentateuch, (see Gen. xlix. 3; Deut. xi. 12.) That the term is here used of the Amalekites in reference to their hostile attitude to Israel, the first to encounter them in war after the Exodus, (Ex. xvii.,) was the view adopted by the Targums, by Jarchi, and other Rabbinical expositors, and among the fathers, by Jerome, who says, "Primi gentium qui Israelitas oppugnarunt."¹

7. The expression, "unto this day," of frequent occurrence in the Pentateuch, is often relied upon as furnishing one of the strongest arguments that the writer clearly regarded his own time as long posterior to the Mosaic age, when the events thus referred to were supposed to have occurred. But a little consideration will greatly modify this confidence. It is to be remarked, that the occurrence of this expression in Genesis cannot be taken into account, inasmuch as it everywhere applies to events separated by several centuries from the Mosaic age, or the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, (see Gen. xix. 37, 38; xxii. 14; xxvi. 33; xxxii. 32, [33;] xxxv. 20; xlvii. 26.) The same remark applies to Deut. ii. 20. which relates the expulsion of the Horites by the children of Esau, who took and kept possession of Seir, and also, though in a less degree, to Deut. x. 8, which mentions the separation

¹ See, however, Hengstenberg, Balaam, p. 490.

of the Levites to the service of the Lord,—an arrangement effected about forty years before, (Num. iii. 6.) The only passage, then, that presents the least difficulty, and the only one urged for this purpose by Vater and Davidson,¹ is Deut. iii. 14, “Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob, . . . and called them after his own name, Bashan-havothjair, *unto this day.*” But even in this case the conquest and naming of the cities is not so near the time of the writer as at first appears. From Num. xxxii. 39-42 compared with xxi. 35, it may be concluded that the conquest effected by Machir and Jair, was that which in the latter passage is ascribed to the children of Israel, and so must have preceded by some time the defeat of Og and Sihon, so that all that is recorded from Num. xxii. intervened.

But more particularly, the phrase itself, “unto this day,” determines nothing as to the time which may have elapsed, which will greatly depend on the character of the object to which it is applied, whether that be subject to alteration in a longer or shorter interval. That it is not always or necessarily used of distant periods appears from various passages of the Old Testament, as Josh. xxii. 3; xxiii. 9. And, moreover, an explanation of its use in the instance referred to will be found in the relation which Deuteronomy bears to the rest of the Pentateuch. The point of view in the former is *the present*: all that preceded, whether near or remote, is regarded as a collective past; the recapitulation of which is introduced by the words, “*at that time,*” בְּעֵת הַהוּא, (Deut. i. 9, 16, 18; iii. 4, 8, 12, 18, &c.), in contrast with the expressions, *this day*, or *now*, as in iv. 1. And, in general, it is to be remarked, that while the phrase, “unto this day,” occurs repeatedly in Genesis, and once in Deuteronomy, in connection with an event which occurred near to the time in which it is here contended the Pentateuch was composed, this view of the relation of the latter book is greatly favoured by the fact, that in the three intermediate books the expression does not appear.²

¹ Introduc., p. 618, 619.

² Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T. ii. 264-270.

§ 3. *Miscellaneous Anachronisms.*

Other particulars adduced in evidence of the later composition of the Pentateuch are,—1. The archæological remark with regard to the Omer, in Ex. xvi. 36. 2. The same also respecting the bedstead of Og, Deut. iii. 11. 3. The occurrence of the term *נָבִי*, “prophet,” in the Pentateuch, in contradiction to 1 Sam. ix. 9, according to which it was not in use in the earlier times of the Israelitish history. And 4. The reference to ancient documents, as the “Book of the Wars of the Lord,” Num. xxi. 16. Each of these points will require to be briefly considered.

1. The notice respecting the “Omer,” which is defined as the tenth part of the Ephah, has been long objected to as entirely of an archæological character, and which, therefore, could only have originated when the measure had changed, or ceased to be in use.¹ Hengstenberg² and other defenders of the genuineness, however, hold that the Omer was not at all the name of a measure, but denoted some domestic utensil, a cup or bowl, in common use. In support of this it is urged, that except in Ex. xvi. 16, 18, 22, 23, 36, the word occurs nowhere else. Then there is the improbability, that every Israelitish family should possess a measure, as must have been the case with respect to the Omer. If this vessel, then, whatever it may have been, was generally of uniform capacity, it could scarcely be always so; and accordingly, the fixing of its contents by a statement of its proportion to a fixed standard, was necessary, or at least desirable.

2. The notice of the bedstead of Og, Deut. iii. 11, has been long a subject of controversy. It is objected that a writer of the Mosaic age could not have known that the bedstead was at Rabbath Ammon; nor, indeed, was it likely to have found its way there so shortly after Og’s death. And it is further objected, that a writer of that age, even if possessed of this information, would scarcely think it necessary to produce to his contemporaries, who had seen and fought with Og, such evidence of his gigantic size, as was furnished by the dimen-

¹ Davidson, *Introduc.*, p. 620.

chaelis, *Supplementa ad Lexica He-*

² *Authentic*, E. T. ii. 172. See Mi- braica, p. 1929. Götting. 1792.

sions of his bedstead. It is the latter part of the objection only that requires any notice: "The object of the writer in this statement was to give a striking representation of the greatness of the conquered enemy, and likewise of the greatness of God's grace, which secured the victory. The interrogative הֲלֵה indicates that the fact was otherwise already known, so that it was only necessary to call it to mind. There is a parallel passage in Deut. xi. 30, 'Are they not (the mountains Ebal and Gerizim) on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down?' Compare also Judges vi. 13."¹

3. The occurrence of the term נְבִיא in the Pentateuch (*e.g.*, Gen. xx. 7; Num. xi. 25; xii. 6, 8; Deut. xiii. 2; xviii. 20) is declared to be at variance with 1 Sam. ix. 9: "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake, Come and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet (נְבִיא) was beforetime called a Seer" (הָרֹאֶה, the Seer). But as Le Clerc well remarks on Gen. xx. 7: "Temporibus Mosis usitata erat; judicium tempore desiit, inde iterum renata est." But even this temporary disuse of the term is sufficiently accounted for from the actual state of matters at the time. According to 1 Sam. iii. 1, "The word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no open vision," אֵין חִזֹּן נִפְרָץ, no vision was spread abroad. In the age preceding Samuel prophecy had lost its true importance; it was exceedingly rare, as was denoted by the word רֹאֶה, which had respect to the receiving of revelation more as an *act* than a *function*.² With Samuel the prophetic order revived, and with it the use of the ancient theocratic name, נְבִיא, which intimated the fixed relation of the person to God, and not, like רֹאֶה, the form in which the revelation was imparted.³ In the books of Chronicles the distinction between the prophets and seers is strictly preserved; (see 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. xii. 15).

4. The reference to "the Book of the Wars of the Lord," in Num. xxi. 14, is objected to on two grounds:—1. That the existence of such a document in the time of Moses, when, with the exception of some early victories over the Amalek-

¹ Authentie, E. T., ii. 200.

³ Witsius, Miscell. Sacra, Lib. i. 14,

² Hävernicks, Einleitung I. i. 56. § 43. Knobel, Der Prophetismus der Hengstenberg, Authentie, E. T. ii. 376. Hebräer. i. 112. Bresl. 1837.

ites, the wars of the Lord were only just begun. And, 2. That, admitting the existence of a work on such a subject, no contemporary writer would cite it, as in the present case, in confirmation of a geographical notice that Arnon touched the borders of the Moabites.

From the citation introduced in Num. xxi. 14, 15, from the Book of the Wars of the Lord, and from the songs, ver. 17, 18, and ver. 27-30, which in all probability were taken from the same source, the work must have been of a poetical character, but of what extent is in no way determined by the term מִלְחָמָה, which seems to have given the objectors an idea of something of great compass, though even for such there may have been ample materials, when the subject, "the wars of the Lord," is viewed in the light of the writer of the Pentateuch, who regarded the Lord as "fighting" for his people, (Ex. xiv. 14, 25; Num. xxxiii. 1,) not only in all the victories which he granted to them over a hostile world, as the Egyptians at the Red Sea, and the Amalekites in the wilderness, and others who opposed them on their way to Canaan, but also in every provision made by the Lord as the leader of the Israelitish hosts, for their wants during their march, even in such matters as the finding of the well, mentioned in ver. 16.¹

The second ground of objection is only the erroneous assumption, that the object of referring to this document was for the confirmation of a geographical notice, whereas the real object of the writer was to shew from a popular composition the impression which the acts accomplished on their behalf by Jehovah had made on the congregation of Israel. Under his leadership they advanced from victory to victory,—nothing was able to withstand their arms, or hinder their progress. This will be more evident when the passage is rendered correctly, as by Hengstenberg: "Vaheb (Jehovah took) in a storm: and the streams of Arnon: and the lowlands of the streams which turn to the dwelling of Ar, and incline to the border of Moab."²

Such are all the alleged traces of any importance, or that

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T. ii. Wars of the Lord, see further, Hottinger, *Thesaurus*, p. 524, Pfeiffer, *Opera*, 184.

² *Ibid*, p. 183. On the Book of the i. 155. Kurtz, *Geschichte*, ii. 450.

are capable of examination on critical and historical grounds, of a later age, which the opponents of its genuineness can discover in the Pentateuch. It were too much to assume that in every case these objections have been fully answered; times and relations so widely different as those of the writer and his modern readers, with the consequent absence, on the part of the latter, of a full knowledge of all the circumstances of any particular case, will cause notices of this kind to appear obscure, or even uncalled for, and perhaps contradictory; so that all that can be aimed at in most instances is only probability. Even this itself should be sufficient, when viewed in connexion with the general character of the writer for honesty and accuracy, to moderate, if not altogether to preclude, the charges so recklessly brought against the work. But as this is not the case, it is important to find that such objections as are urged generally rest on no better grounds than assumptions, and that sometimes, instead of presenting contradictions, they furnish, on examination most remarkable, undesigned coincidences.

CHAPTER III.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THE results of the preceding investigations into the unity and antiquity of the Pentateuch have, both separately and combined, an important bearing, it will be readily conceded, on the further inquiry to be instituted respecting its author. Had these results in any way proved favourable to the theory which, in various forms, and with more or less qualification, is held by many modern critics, that the Pentateuch is a heterogeneous composition of different authors and ages, or that it has passed through several changes before it assumed the form which it now presents, or to that other view, which, though admitting an original unity, would still pronounce it to be the production of a later writer, who, to give his work greater authority, conformed its character as far as possible to the Mosaic age, the question of authorship would in either case be greatly complicated. But, so far from yielding support to such views, the evidence has been entirely in the contrary direction, establishing, as unequivocally as such a case may be supposed to admit, that the whole work is the production of a single author, and that it must have been written not later than the Mosaic age.

With regard, therefore, to the question of authorship, the field is very much narrowed, inasmuch as the evidence adducible as to the origin of any particular portion of the Pentateuch may legitimately be extended to the whole composition; while, again, the determination of the time of production to the Mosaic age, or more specifically to the period between the Exodus and the entrance into Canaan, still further limits the inquiry by at once fixing the authorship either on the Hebrew Lawgiver himself, or some one of his contemporaries. As to this, the evidence of the work itself must chiefly decide, supplemented as it may be by external testimony.

SECT. I. INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO THE AUTHOR OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Hoare, *The Life of Moses*:—Veracity of the Book of Genesis, pp. 21-90. Lond., 1860.—Hengstenberg, *Statements of the Pentateuch respecting its author*, Authentie, E. T., ii. 122-145.—Keil, *Einleitung*, § 33, pp. 127-132.—Keil, Hävernich, I. ii. § 108., pp. 15-27.

The testimony derived from the work itself regarding its author is of a twofold character: it is both direct and indirect, the latter consisting of conclusions drawn from the manner of the writer, as unconsciously unfolded in the work, from general statements and incidental remarks regarding other subjects, and from various collateral circumstances, which will strike an attentive reader as indicative of the character of the writer, whether real or assumed. This, in one point of view, the most valuable testimony, because the least open to suspicion, deserves to be first considered.

§ 1. *Indirect Internal Testimony.*

Much that might properly be adduced under this head has been already considered in the inquiry respecting the time and place of the composition of the work, and it will, therefore, in a great measure suffice to refer to some of the arguments of the preceding chapter. Two points in particular there noticed, deserve careful consideration as bearing on the question of authorship. First, it was shown that the writer of the Pentateuch must have been an eye-witness of, and an agent in, the transactions he records. And, secondly, indubitable evidence was produced of such an intimate acquaintance on his part with Egypt, its language and manners, its civil and natural history, and also of a knowledge no less accurate of the Arabian desert, its geography, physical characteristics and productions, that in both cases it can be regarded only as the result of long personal observation and experience.

From the first of these propositions it may, with considerable probability, be inferred, that if the author was not Moses himself, he must, from his cognizance of the transactions and the particular light in which he regards them, have been some

one closely associated with him in the government of the people; suppose Aaron, or Joshua, or one of the Elders of Israel, on whom rested "the spirit of Moses," for, irrespective of other considerations, what has been already proved, with respect to the unity of the work, precludes the view recently propounded by Delitzsch,¹ that all the parties thus named contributed to its completion. But Aaron, to whom, next to Moses, the work might with the greatest probability be ascribed, owing to the official relation which he sustained from the first interview with Pharaoh (Ex. iv. 16), and the sacerdotal duties to which he and his family were afterwards set apart, and which, it might be supposed, were more in unison with, or offered more leisure for, literary labours, than could be expected in the case of Moses, occupied as he was with more multifarious concerns (Ex. xviii. 13-26), is, however, excluded by the simple fact that he predeceased Moses, and before a great part of the work could possibly have been written. The same is true also of all the elders, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, (Num. xxvi. 64,) a fact strangely overlooked by Delitzsch, when he identifies the "elders" (זִקְנֵי) set apart by Moses (Num. xi. 25), with those who survived Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 31). But still less can it be said that the Pentateuch is the work of Joshua; for such a supposition is precluded by the evident incompatibility of his other services as the lieutenant of Moses, and still more of his experience and years (Num. xi. 28) with such an undertaking.

While these limitations are all in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the question is still further narrowed by the second consideration regarding the knowledge which the work displays of Egypt and the Arabian desert. This knowledge of two regions so different from one another, indicates at least close and long-continued observation, and would, accordingly, apart from more direct evidence, go far to assign the authorship to Moses, who, in a much greater degree than any other of his contemporaries, if there be any truth in the history of his life, was in circumstances to obtain the information in question.

The history of Moses, previous to his appointment to

¹ Die Genesis ausgelegt, p. 37.

be the deliverer and leader of his countrymen, as narrated in the beginning of the book of Exodus, and corroborated in almost every particular by various references throughout the other books of the Old Testament, presents him in the most favourable position imaginable for this purpose. There is first the remarkable preservation of the Hebrew infant from the destruction to which, at the time of his birth, an edict of Pharaoh doomed the male children of this oppressed race, and which providentially led to his being trained at the Egyptian court. The birth of Moses must have shortly followed the promulgation of the order for the destruction of the male children of the Israelites, by casting them into the Nile, (Ex. ii. 2, i. 22,) for there is no trace of the existence of such an injunction three years previous, at the time of Aaron's birth, (Ex. vii. 7). The mother resolved to avert, if possible, the impending fate of her infant born under such a ban: "She hid him three months,"—moved, in the first instance, unquestionably by maternal feelings, but encouraged in her hazardous experiment by something remarkable in the child's person: "She saw him that he was a goodly child," (ii. 2). This circumstance is twice referred to in the New Testament, and explained as consisting in a singular beauty, (*ἀστέρον τὸ παιδίον*, Heb. xi. 23; *ἀστέρος τῷ Θεῷ*, Acts vii. 20,) which gave confidence to the parents that this child would be an object of care to the paternal eye of God. When no longer able to conceal him—having "hid him three months"—the mother prepared "an ark," (*תֵּבָה* LXX. *θίβη*, the name¹ as well as the materials are Egyptian, as indeed the whole scene,²) some sort of basket formed of the bulrushes or papyrus of the Nile, and rendering it impervious to water by coating it with the well-known tenacious slime of that stream, and also with pitch, and after laying the babe therein, she deposited the precious treasure among the flags on the river's brink, (ver. 3). It was an important and providential circumstance that the exposed infant was found by one who had sufficient influence or authority to procure his preservation, and not less so, the

¹ Rodiger's Gesenius, Thes., p. 1491. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, i. 482. App. i. No. 517.

² Hengstenberg, Egypt, p. 85. Hawks, Egypt and the Bible, p. 230. Smith, The History of Moses, pp 35, 36. Edin. 1860.

additional circumstance that the daughter of Pharaoh, who made the happy discovery, while adopting the child as her own son, was led to commit his nursing to the proper mother, (ver. 5-10).

If the one circumstance secured the preservation of Moses, and opened up for him a way of receiving an education unattainable in other circumstances by a Hebrew youth, especially at this period of his countrymen's depression; the other secured that, while, as regarded intellectual knowledge, he was raised to an equality with the learned of Egypt, (Acts vii. 22,) he should be first instructed by a mother's lips in the language and traditions of his people. Thus it was, that while in all outward respects Moses, as the son of Pharaoh's daughter, might be regarded as an Egyptian, and so would feel an interest in, and obtain an acquaintance with, all that respected the land of his birth, greater than any other of his countrymen, to whom Egypt always presented a more hostile aspect, he yet never ceased to be in heart a Hebrew, and to cherish those prospects which awaited his brethren, (Heb. xi. 24-26).

These remarkable interpositions in the early life of Moses afforded clear indications of some great Divine purpose which the peculiar circumstances of the Israelites at the time, and when read in the light of the promises made to their fathers, would fully enable the faithful and inquiring mind to determine. The very last of the prophetic utterances, as contained in the dying announcement of Joseph, "And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob," (Gen. l. 24,) must, above all, have been still fresh in the minds of the Israelites. How his own case was viewed by the ardent spirit of Moses, clearly appears from his visit to his brethren, his avenging the wrongs which they sustained at the hands of their Egyptian oppressors, and his offer to be a mediator between themselves, (Ex. ii. 11-13; comp. Acts vii. 23); but which interpositions, in the meantime, resulted only in his being constrained to seek, by a precipitate flight, safety from the vengeance of Pharaoh, (ver. 15). This incident, however, conducted Moses to a scene entirely new, and placed him amid circumstances which served

still further to fit him for the work to which in due time he was called.

If the residence of Moses at the Pharaonic court, until "grown" to manhood (Ex. ii. 11), and his training in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, secured for him facilities for becoming acquainted with whatever related to that country, not possessed by any of his Hebrew brethren, the new relation into which he was brought by his flight into Midian, a country on the eastern arm of the Red Sea, afforded him opportunities not less rare for obtaining a knowledge of the Arabian desert in its various aspects, such as that which so remarkably distinguishes the writer of the Pentateuch. His alliance by marriage with the Priest of Midian, and his long residence in a country which served to him as a second home, and particularly his pastoral occupations in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai (Ex. iii. 1), afterwards the scene of those Divine revelations and arrangements which form the greater part of the subject of a composition, with which, throughout the Scriptures, Jewish and Christian, as will presently appear, the name of Moses is indissolubly associated,—supplied him also with facilities, apart entirely from the moral and spiritual training designed by this discipline, for contemplating nature in a phase quite different from that which it presented in the valley of the Nile.

The subsequent life of Moses, after he was called to deliver his countrymen from Egypt, and conduct them through the wilderness to their new home, must have still further enlarged his acquaintance with the countries in which all his days were passed. His return to Egypt after a considerable absence, during which he had been habituated to new scenes and associations, must have made him exceedingly observant, it may be supposed, of any peculiarities which the very marked contrast between the two localities presented to him. Still more would matters of this kind be brought before him while engaged in treating with Pharaoh for the deliverance of his brethren. And, above all, must his susceptibilities for observation have been awakened by his second sojourn in the desert, where, during forty years, there devolved upon him the responsibilities of the leader and lawgiver of his people.

Thus Egypt and the Arabian desert were the countries

with which, beyond all other lands, Moses was familiar,—the one his birth-place, and the home of his earliest years, and until, as already remarked, he “was grown;” so that the impressions which it left on his mind were not the mere dreams of childhood, but the realities of riper years. The other was the scene at first of his quiet pastoral avocations, when, moving about from place to place, he sought and discovered suitable pasture for the flock of his Midianitish father-in-law, and subsequently of far higher labours when charged with the varied concerns of a vast and ill-disciplined host, suddenly brought into new relations, and confronted with untried difficulties. And thus, it may safely be concluded, Moses was possessed of a knowledge of these two regions incomparably greater than that of any other Hebrew writer, who might be supposed to fabricate such a production as the Pentateuch; so that, apart entirely from other considerations which might be pressed into this argument, the familiar acquaintance with the two countries in question, which appears so remarkable to such of its readers as have themselves visited those scenes, or have even carefully studied the descriptions furnished by modern travellers, not only unmistakably points to its Mosaic authorship, but is, indeed, explicable only on that supposition.

But to the validity of this argument for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, it may be objected that the work displays as intimate an acquaintance with Palestine as with Egypt and the Desert, and yet Moses never crossed the Jordan. The author’s accuracy with respect to Palestine, no one who carefully considers the matter will for a moment dispute. The wanderings and encampments of the patriarchs, from the first notice of Abraham on the soil of the promised land, at the place of Sichem (Gen. xii. 6), until it was quitted by Jacob at Beersheba (xvi. 5), on his way to Egypt, are distinctly and accurately described. But it is in such passages as Gen. xxxvii. 25, which gives an account of the journey to Egypt of the Midianites from Gilead;¹ but more particularly Gen. xiv. 5-7, 15, which describes the march of the allied kings, that the writer’s geographical knowledge most strikingly appears. His knowledge of the chief productions of Palestine, as distinct from

¹ Robinson, Bib. Res. iii. 122.

Egypt, is seen from the present which Jacob suggested should be brought to the governor of Egypt (xliii. 11). Fully admitting this, and recognizing in it an additional proof of the scrupulous correctness of the history, it yet in no way militates against the Mosaic authorship of that or any other portion of the work.

For, in the first place, the same objection would apply, and in a far greater degree, to any other writer of the Mosaic age, to which, as has been shown on other grounds, the composition of the Pentateuch must be assigned. But, indeed, it is with the view of transferring the origin of the work to a later period, when the Israelites were in possession of Palestine, that the opponents of the genuineness employ the objection, that so accurate a knowledge of the country, in its physical peculiarities, its historical and geographical relations, clearly bespeaks the writer as a native of Palestine.

The Israelites must have brought with them into Egypt considerable knowledge of the land of Canaan, and this assuredly would not be lost by such of them as had regard to the promises of it as the future and permanent inheritance of the nation. To the ardent mind of Moses, in particular, these traditional memorials of the land of patriarchal sojourning would have presented themselves in the most vivid light, while his knowledge must have been greatly enlarged during his residence among the Midianites, whose caravans at that time were the great medium of communication between Asia and Africa. The forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, a considerable part of which was at Kadesh, on the borders of the Promised Land, (comp. Deut. i. 46,) would contribute many new particulars. Further, the information brought back by Joshua and Caleb of the land they had been sent to explore, must have been full of interest to the inquiring mind of Moses; and he himself passed his last days on the eastern side of the Jordan, a country having the same physical peculiarities as Canaan Proper. Indeed, one of the passages, (Deut. xi. 11,) which show the most exact knowledge of the physical condition of Canaan, occurs in the discourses delivered in this district. The various ethnographical notices in Deut. ii. iii., also belong to the same region.

An examination of particulars will show that in no single instance is there occasion to assume, that the knowledge of the

country west of the Jordan is that of an eye-witness, though, in every case, it will be found uniformly correct. The limits, for instance, assigned to the Land of Promise in various passages of the Pentateuch, (Gen. xv. 18; Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24,) are only in general terms. Num. xxxiv. 1-15, indeed, describes more particularly the boundaries, and the divisions of the land as they would be apportioned among the tribes, and therefore deserves more special notice. Although it is impossible, from imperfect knowledge of the localities specified, and the consequent uncertainty of the precise direction of the boundaries to trace them from point to point, as there indicated, especially as regards the south border, yet, such is the minuteness with which they are laid down, that the description must have been perfectly explicit at the time. It is, however, to be observed, that the borders which contain the most definite specification of localities, are the south and the east, the parts of the country with which Moses and the Israelites coming from Egypt through the desert were necessarily most familiar. The west border, being the Great Sea, needed no further specification, but the northern limit is designated by the expression, הַר הָהוּא, "the mountain of the mountain," the most eminent mountain, indicating no doubt Lebanon, (ver. 7, comp. Josh. xiii. 5,) visible from the depths of the Jordan-valley by the Dead Sea,¹ and which, in the longings of Moses, formed the one distinct image which blended with the general hope of seeing the good land, (Deut. iii. 25.) The other names in this boundary indicate places along the two ranges of Lebanon. Compare, however, even this most specific passage relative to Canaan Proper, with the notice of the localities on the other side of the Jordan, divided among the two and a half tribes, (Num. xxxii. 3, 4, 33-42,) and the different relations which, in the two cases, the writer occupied, will at once appear.

Another circumstance evincing the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, is the identity of spirit which characterises the writer and the lawgiver. This is apparent in various instances, but in none more strikingly than in the manner in which the author describes the opposition which the law encountered from the people. The plainness and even severity with which he speaks of the conduct of his countrymen, and

¹ Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, pp. 403, 404.

even of the highest functionaries in the state, Aaron, the high priest, and his sons Nadab and Abihu, not excepting Moses, the supreme magistrate, affords a convincing proof, not merely of faithfulness and impartiality, but of an authority which could have been expected only in the Lawgiver himself.

The conduct of the people, from the first appearance of difficulties in connexion with their deliverance from Egyptian slavery, until brought to the confines of the Promised Land, is largely characterised by murmuring unbelief, issuing in open apostasy, even immediately after the ratification of the Sinaitic covenant, and a purpose is expressed once and again to return to Egypt. They are described as a stiff-necked and rebellious people, and are reminded that the land which they were about to possess was given them not for their righteousness, or the uprightness of their heart. "Remember, and forget not, how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord," (Deut. ix. 7). Here the language is expressly that of the Lawgiver, and it is adduced for the purpose of shewing how exactly it comports with the terms employed throughout the Pentateuch in characterising the people in their relation to God and his law.

But not less severe and authoritative are the terms in which any misconduct in the rulers of the people is described, although by the ties of kindred and office closely related to the lawgiver. The notice of Moses' rebuke of Aaron for the affair of the golden calf is exceedingly severe, and characteristic of the lawgiver: "And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people do unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?" (Ex. xxxii. 21). And in the same spirit Aaron's crime is incidentally condemned by the historian: "And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made," (ver. 35,)—how different from the terms in which Aaron himself sought to palliate his conduct! (ver. 22-24). But even more express is the condemnation in ver. 25: "And when Moses saw that the people were naked, for Aaron had made them naked unto their shame among their enemies." It is unnecessary to notice minutely other incidents in the history of Aaron, such as his participation with his sister Miriam

in a seditious attack on the authority of Moses, (Num. xii.,) and his sin, in common with Moses, which excluded both from the promised land—upon all of which a condemnation is pronounced, which argues that the freedom thus used by the historian was associated with the authority of the lawgiver, especially when taken in connexion with an express precept of the law in Ex. xxii. 28: "Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people," which was regarded as specially applying to the high priest, (Acts xxiii. 5).

But more than this, Moses himself is spoken of in terms which are utterly opposed to the supposition that they proceed from any other than himself. His murdering the Egyptian, shewn to be an unjustifiable act in the mere record of the consequences resulting from it, his extreme backwardness to undertake the deliverance of his brethren when specially called to the undertaking, and his distrust in God after the miracles exhibited before him, and the most gracious assurances of Divine co-operation for the success of his mission—all which led to "the anger of the Lord being kindled against him,"—his offence long subsequently at Meribah, which procured the exclusion of Aaron and himself, by a Divine sentence, from the promised land (Num. xx. 12) are certainly matters of this character. So also other particulars recorded in the history, as his vainly deprecating the reversal of this sentence, and which only produced the rebuke: "Let it suffice thee: speak no more unto me of this matter," (Deut. iii. 26) cannot have been recorded by a contemporary of Moses, and still less by any subsequent author. Awe and admiration of the lawgiver's character would have made other features fitted more to exalt the man so prominent that these weaknesses of humanity would have found no place in the history. And not only so, but a larger space would be occupied with his private life, which extended to eighty years, than the few verses devoted to it in the Pentateuch. In the hands of any other writer, and more especially of one subsequent to the Mosaic age, such matters certainly would not have been so overlooked, for it usually happens that a people only learn to appreciate their great men and benefactors when they are deprived of them. At all events, it is not difficult to conceive of circumstances which, on the supposition of the writer being

distinct from his hero, would most assuredly have given a colouring to the character of the leader and lawgiver of the nation quite different from what it now presents in those passages of the Pentateuch which directly refer to that subject. In support of this it is only necessary to advert to the language in which Moses is spoken of by the writer of the appendix to the Pentateuch. "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face; in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land, and in all that mighty hand, and in all that great terror which Moses showed in the sight of all Israel." (Deut. xxxiv. 10-12). To this encomium there is nothing similar in the whole of the Pentateuch itself.

The only thing that can at all be compared with this in style is the notices in Ex. xi. 3, "Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people;" Num. xii. 7, where God characterises him, "My servant Moses, who is faithful in all mine house," and more particularly, the historian's remark in ver. 3, "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth;" but all these are essentially different in character from the encomium contained in the close of the work. An examination of the context will at once manifest that the observations referred to occupy a necessary place in the history, being in every instance called forth by the occasion, and that the object of their insertion was by no means to magnify Moses.

In the first of these passages (Ex. xi. 3), it is expressly stated that the respect with which Moses was regarded by the Egyptians immediately preceding the exodus, was entirely owing to the way in which God manifested his power and glory in behalf of his people: "And the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses," &c. This then is written not in praise of Moses, but of God's grace glorified in him. The second observation (Num. xii. 7) was even more imperatively required for the vindication of the character and office of the head of the community, and for the refutation of the claims advanced by Aaron and Miriam to an equality with Moses as the medium of divine commu-

fications. God declares that these pretensions are unfounded, and that Moses as a prophet, and as mediator of the Covenant, occupied a place peculiarly his own (compare Deut. xviii. 15).

The remaining passage (Num. xii. 3) requires a fuller examination. Though an old objection, it is that on which some of the more recent opponents of the Mosaic authorship of the work chiefly rely. Kurtz¹ attaches special importance to it, and unhesitatingly declares that this passage, at least, could not have proceeded from Moses; and, as Hengstenberg admits, it does indeed wear something of a foreign air. But as the same author shows, the true explanation was given long ago by Calvin, who takes the passage in connexion with the words immediately preceding: "And the Lord heard (it)," that is, the reproaches of Miriam and Aaron. Moses, as it were, heard it not, he remained silent under it, he did not cry to God to vindicate his character, or to avenge his wrong. He committed himself implicitly to God, who hears, and straightway appears for the vindication of his servant. Thus Calvin: "Huc enim spectat elogium mansuetudinis: quasi diceret Moses, se injuriam illam tacitum vorasse, quod pro sua mansuetudine patientiæ legem sibi indiceret." This view of the matter is strongly confirmed by the statement in ver. 13, that for the removal of the punishment which had befallen Miriam, Moses, at the request of Aaron, "cried unto the Lord, saying, Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee." There is evidently intended a marked contrast between the mediate cause of the punishment and of its removal, by the use of the words in the one case simply—"and the Lord heard," and in the other, "Moses cried, heal her now, O God, I beseech thee."

§ 2. *Direct Internal Testimony.*

In the absence of all intimations of a contrary nature the preceding considerations alone go far to settle the authorship of the Pentateuch; much more must this be the case when fully confirmed by express testimony in the work itself, regarding its author, and the time and place of its composition. The Pentateuch is not an anonymous production, the origin of which must be determined by considerations such as those

¹ Geschichte des alten Bundes, ii. 380, 541.

adduced under the preceding head. It expressly claims to be the work of Moses, to whom was intrusted the duty of making known to the Israelites, whom he conducted from Egypt, the revelations of Jehovah (Deut. v. 23-31). These were, in the first instance, communicated orally, but as "the commandments, statutes, and judgments" thus taught the people, had respect as well to future generations in the land which they were going to possess, provision must be made for their preservation in a safer form than that afforded by tradition.

There are various intimations in the middle books of the Pentateuch that Moses committed to writing at the express command of God, several remarkable incidents in the Israelitish sojourn in the wilderness, and likewise divine communications made to him there. These notices, though not directly a proof of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, yet have an important bearing on the question. The first of these is Ex. xvii. 14, where it is intimated that Moses, after the victory over the Amalekites, was commanded to record, בִּסְפָר, not as in the Eng. Ver. "in *a* book," but in *the* book, this divine purpose: "I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven," the object of this record being to constitute "a memorial," (זִכְרוֹן) not for Joshua merely, for whom it was immediately intended, but also for future generations. It is observable that there is here a reference to some definite, well-known book, in which it is but reasonable to suppose other transactions had been already recorded, for the attempts to restrict its contents to this single incident, or to take it indefinitely as *a* book, are altogether futile and opposed to the evidence of the case. That the contents of the record, even as respects the affair of the Amalekites, are not to be restricted to this single statement, it requires little argumentation to evince. For, in order to make the notice intelligible, there needed to be some further information regarding the position of the Israelites at the time, and also the circumstances which brought them into contact with that unfriendly people, in short, such a narrative as is furnished in the previous portions of Exodus.¹ Further, the distinction in Hebrew between writing in *a* book and in *the* book, is not at all a matter of uncertainty. For

¹ See Witsius, *Miscell. Sacra*, lib. i. 14, § 15, p. 111.

denoting the former idea there are two constructions, אֶל־סֵפֶר and עַל־סֵפֶר (Jer. xxx. 2; xxxvi. 2; Isa. xxx. 8; Deut. xvii. 18; xxxi. 24); and that, on the other hand, the terms here used refer to *the* book, as one known to Moses, is, indeed, now no longer denied by the opponents of the genuineness,¹ and they can therefore only allege that the book in question was a monograph on the wars with the Amalekites.²

Another passage is Ex. xxiv. 4, "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord;" and ver. 7, "And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people." It is immaterial at present to determine the extent of this book of the Covenant, whether, with Hävernicks, it be taken to apply to the Pentateuch so far as then written, or with Keil,³ who, following Hengstenberg and Kurtz,⁴ understands it to refer only to what properly concerned the covenant, its promises and obligations (Ex. xx. 2-14; xxi-xxiii.), the only consideration of importance here is, that Moses committed to writing the communications made to him by the Lord for Israel, and that he did so in consequence of a divine command (Ex. xxxiv. 27). So also in Num. xxxiii. 2, it is said, "And Moses wrote their goings out (מִוְצֵאֵיהֶם, *their stations*) according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord." All these passages have this in common, that they acknowledge the necessity of the various matters of which they treat, legislative and historical, being committed to writing, and not left to the uncertainties of oral tradition; while it is at the same time perfectly evident that there is nothing in the matters thus recorded by Moses to distinguish them from others, for the insertion of which in the history there is no such express command.

But, admitting that these passages furnish no direct evidence of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, they certainly by no means justify the conclusion sometimes deduced from them, that the middle books cannot have been written by Moses, seeing that only specific portions are there expressly

¹ Knobel, Exod. p. 178. Kurtz, Geschichte, ii. 239.

² Davidson, Introd., p. 613. This writer says of Num. xxxiii. 2, "Moses

composed an itinerary of the Israelites in the wilderness."

³ Hävernicks, Einleit. 2te Ausg. I. ii. 17.

⁴ Geschichte, ii. 239.

assigned to him, while the entire book of Deuteronomy is repeatedly ascribed to him. The above passages in Exodus and Numbers do not, it may be admitted, refer expressly to the composition of the Pentateuch as such, but only to the recording of special marks of Divine goodness experienced by Israel, and which were thus to be made memorials for future ages; nevertheless, the Divine command, that such matters should be recorded, whether in the present Pentateuch or not matters nothing, and then the fact, that what regarded the Amalekites was written in a marked and well-known book, not only warrant the conclusion, justifiable, and, indeed, necessary, even on other grounds, that it was the mind of God, that all the more important tokens of his goodness to the covenant people should be faithfully handed down to posterity, but also the further supposition, that Moses took special care that this purpose should be realized. If so, who then so fitted for the work as the law-giver himself, who, more than any other, was acquainted with the character and the will of God?

That Moses would make provision in this respect is a conclusion not only borne out by general considerations, but is placed beyond all doubt by the evidence supplied by various statements in Deuteronomy. In chap. xvii. 18, 19, there is given a charge for the future Israelitish king: "It shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life," &c. This plainly implies that the speaker, Moses, would deliver such a written code to the priests; and this is confirmed by the statement in chap. xxxi. 9, to which this passage refers, that he actually did so. Further, in chap. xxvii. 1-8, Moses gave orders to the people that they should, after crossing the Jordan and entering into Canaan, set up great stones upon Mount Ebal, and covering them with plaster, write upon them "all the words of this law"—directions which were in due time fully carried out by Joshua (chap. viii. 30-35). In Deut. xxviii., Moses testified to the people, that if they did not observe and do "all the words of this law that are written in this book" (ver. 58), Jehovah would inflict upon them various diseases, among others, "all the diseases of Egypt" (ver. 60). . . "also

every sickness and every plague which is not written in the book of this law" (ver. 61); and he further intimated that upon the obdurate sinner should lie "all the curses that are written in this book" (xxix. 19 [20]), and the Lord should separate him unto evil "according to all the curses of the covenant that are written in this book of the law" (ver. 20 [21]). Jehovah will also bring upon the land "all the curses that are written in this book" (ver. 26 [27]), while, on the other hand, blessings are promised for obedience to God's "commandments and statutes which are written in this book of the law" (xxx. 10). Particularly worthy of notice is the statement in chap. xxix. 28 [29]: "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law," because while thus clearly intimating the interest of posterity in all revelations hitherto vouchsafed, as indispensable to obedience, it unequivocally implies that in order to serve that purpose such communications must have been fully recorded.

On the conclusion of the discourses which constitute the book of Deuteronomy, Moses set apart Joshua to be his successor, after which it is added: "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, who bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel," adding at the same time a command that it should be publicly read every seventh year to all Israel assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles (xxxi. 9-13). After this transaction God announced to Moses his approaching death, and also apprised him of Israel's apostasy after his decease, and in view of that apostasy commanded him to write the song, chap. xxxii., and to teach it to the people, that it might be a witness for God against them; whereupon this part of the narrative concludes with the words: "Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it to the children of Israel" (xxxi. 22). Upon this follows a charge to Joshua, and next an intimation: "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord

your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee" (ver. 24-26).

Without determining for the present anything as to the character and extent of the document so frequently referred to in these passages, as "the book of the law," whether it be the same as the present Pentateuch, or only the book of Deuteronomy, as some would maintain, this much is certain, that there is here indisputable evidence of the actual existence of such a book, and equally so of its Mosaic authorship. Moses could not, as already remarked, lay down a charge for the Israelitish king to make a copy of the law, if there was no such document in existence; nor, on the same supposition, could he have given directions for writing the words of the law on the stones to be set up on Mount Ebal, nor, even were such a supposition conceivable, could the command, if the words were fixed only in the memory, be strictly carried out, as it certainly was. And just as little would Moses, in his closing admonitions, threaten the people with the curses *written* in the book of the law, or enforce obedience to all the commands therein written, if he had not bequeathed to his people a Book containing the laws and ordinances of Jehovah, and also his promises and threatenings. That he did so, however, is expressly stated in Deut. xxxi. 9, 22, 24.

But this last statement the opponents of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch meet with the charge of its being confused and contradictory; for ver. 24 first mentions the completion of the work, which, according to ver. 9, Moses, it is alleged, had already delivered to the priests. The contradiction, however, vanishes immediately on its being perceived that Moses twice delivered the book into the hands of the priests. The first time the transaction had a symbolical character. The book was delivered not only to the "priests" but "unto all the elders of Israel"—the whole representatives of the nation (ver. 9)—an act which "indicated that the ecclesiastical and civil polity were to be regulated according to the prescriptions of the book of the law."¹ After this formal delivery, Moses took back the book, completed it (ver. 24), and finally committed it to the keeping of the Levites (ver. 26).

¹ Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T., ii. 126.

This is distinguished from the former delivery by the circumstance that at this time the elders were not present (comp. ver. 28), and also by the charge now given for its being deposited in the side of the ark, whereas on the first occasion it is merely said, "and he gave it." Further, attention to the fact that the book as it left the hands of Moses ended with the charge given to Joshua, ver. 23,—a most appropriate conclusion of such a work, and that what follows from ver. 24, is added by the continuator, would at once prevent the objection that the book, of which the completion and the delivery for preservation are here mentioned, could not itself consistently contain an account of that latter transaction. The commencement of the appendix is clearly marked by the words: "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book until they were ended," &c. The song in chap. xxxii. was written down by Moses himself, (comp. xxxi. 22); as was also in all probability the blessing on the tribes, (xxxiii); but these, for some reason or other, were not incorporated with the Pentateuch itself, but were appended by the continuator, who, after narrating the completion of the law, and the words spoken by Moses when delivering it to the Levites, adds the introductory remark to the song and the blessing, and concludes with the account of Moses' death.

Such is the light in which Hengstenberg, and also Keil,¹ regard the concluding portion of the Pentateuch. It is a view, to say the least, very probable; but its correctness does not affect in the remotest degree the question as to the genuineness of the work. It is unquestionable that if the production of Moses, the Pentateuch must have been finished by another hand, though it may be impossible to determine precisely the point at which the continuator began. But admitting Hengstenberg's representation of the case, it would thus appear that Deut. xxxi. contains a two-fold testimony to the composition of "the book of the law" by Moses, that of the author himself, and that of the continuator, who must have been a contemporary of Moses, or at least have lived not long after his time.

The next question to be determined is, What was the

¹ Hävernick's Einleitung, I., ii. 20.

nature of this Book of the law so frequently referred to in the closing addresses of Moses, or its precise relation to the present Pentateuch?

The older attacks on the genuineness of the Pentateuch having failed to set aside the express evidence presented by the work itself in favour of its Mosaic authorship, efforts have been more recently directed to identify Deuteronomy with the Book of the law stated to have been written by Moses, and which he directed to be deposited beside the ark. The latest exponents of this view, among whom are found Delitzsch¹ and Kurtz,² urge that this testimony can apply only to Deuteronomy, because it is so limited, first, by the constantly recurring expressions, "this law," and "the book of this law." Again, that not the whole Pentateuch, but only Deuteronomy, and indeed only the substance of it, could be inscribed, as Moses directed, on the stones erected on Mount Ebal, (Deut. xxvii. 8). And further, that the Pentateuch from its extent could not have been the "book of the law" intended to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles, (chap. xxxi. 2).

Admitting that in some passages of Deuteronomy (*e. g.* chap. i. 5; iv. 8, 44,) the expression, "this law," may denote that book itself, because limited by a specification of place, or of time, as "this law which I command you this day," or by some other mark equally definite, serving to distinguish these commandments from those formerly delivered, it is these limitations, and not the particle *הַזֶּה* *this*, as Kurtz maintains, that restrict the law to a particular portion of it, and therefore, when such distinctions are wanting, the relation implied in the term *הַזֶּה* whether used of the "law," or the "book of the law," must be determined from the nature of the subject described. Indeed, it is evident that "this" law denotes primarily its singleness and unity—the law not as contrasted with other commandments, but only as repeated in new circumstances.

This will be seen from an examination of the passages adduced in proof that Deuteronomy alone was meant by "this law;" at least it will be found that the evidence is directly opposed to any such limitation. In the charge for the king in Deut. xvii. 18, it is directed that his copy of the law—

¹ Die Genesis ausgelegt, p. 25.

² Geschichte, ii. 538, 539.

"this law"—shall be made from the codex which is "before the priests, the Levites." Delitzsch sees in this an express reference to Deuteronomy, but as this is owing solely to a misinterpreting of the expression מִיִּשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת, after the LXX. τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο and Vulg. "Deuteronomium legis," but which is really a "double," or "copy of this law," and not "this repetition of the law," which would require an entirely different construction in the Hebrew,¹ he is not supported here by Kurtz, or any other. But to proceed: from ver. 8-13 it appears that the priests, in conjunction with "the judge that shall be in those days," were appointed to settle all matters of controversy, and from their decision there was no appeal. "According to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do." The judicial functions, in addition to their ordinary duties thus committed to the priests, obviously required that they should be put in possession of full instructions with regard to subjects most likely to come before them—a code of laws sufficiently comprehensive to embrace all important questions, whether of a civil or sacred character, which might arise within the commonwealth. Now it is no less evident that the book of Deuteronomy contains almost nothing which can be regarded as instructions of this kind, and accordingly, must have been very inadequate for such a purpose. Independently, however, of this general consideration, the matters of controversy supposed in ver. 8, were specially provided for in Ex. xxi., and other passages, comp. ver. 18. And not only the priests, but the "judge," the civil magistrate, and, on the institution of the monarchy, the king, who was expressly directed to provide himself with a copy of the law, because essential to the due performance even of the duties here assigned to the judge, needed further instructions than are afforded in Deuteronomy.

Another passage, (Deut. xxvii. 3-8,) adduced in proof that by "this law," Deuteronomy must be meant, is even less decisive; for if it gives no reason to conclude that what was to be inscribed upon the stones on mount Ebal embraced the whole of the Pentateuch, as little does it refer to the book of Deuteronomy, but only to a portion of it—determined by the

¹ Schultz, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 499, and see above. p. 111.

words of Moses, ver. 1: "Keep all the commandments which I command you this day."¹

The direction given by Moses with respect to the public reading of the law, (Deut. xxxi. 10-13,) is also produced in evidence of Deuteronomy only being meant. The Pentateuch, it is alleged, is far too extensive a work to allow of its being read through during the feast of tabernacles. Without attaching any importance to the fact that this feast lasted for eight days, (Lev. xxiii. 36,) and that it may be difficult to determine how much could be read in that time, though no doubt a very large portion, if, like Ezra, they read "from the morning until mid-day," (Neh. viii. 3), the point to be considered is, Must it be assumed that the whole work required to be read? Is it not an allowable supposition, that it was left to the discretion of the priests to select such sections as furnished a summary of the whole legislation, the greater portion of which would no doubt be taken from Deuteronomy? That the reading of the law on the feast of tabernacles was not confined to the book of Deuteronomy, as Delitzsch maintains on the authority of the Mischna, is placed beyond question by the account of the celebration of the feast in the days of Nehemiah. In the lesson of the second day it is related, in Neh. viii. 14, that "they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month." There is here a reference to Lev. xxiii. 41, 42. No doubt there is a more general direction respecting this matter in Deut. xvi. 13-15, but that the reference here is to Leviticus is indubitable from the directions given in ver. 15 for the preparation of the booths, and which are taken literally from Lev. xxiii. 40. The words in Nehemiah are:—"Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive-branches, and pine-branches, and

¹ The supposition of the portion to be inscribed being limited is in unison with the symbolic character of the transaction itself, without admitting that there was any insuperable difficulty in the process of writing a much larger portion, if needed. This must be evident from the inscriptions of Egypt and As-

syria now brought to light. But it is an entire misrepresentation of the matter, and therefore does not need to be "explained," when thus put by objectors. "It is not explained, how Joshua could have engraved the five books on a pillar on Mount Ebal."—*Westminster Review*, vol. xviii, p. 36.

myrtle-branches, and palm-branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, *as it is written.*"¹

It further appears, that in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, at least, "the law of Moses" was understood as comprehending more than the book of Deuteronomy, for the laws regarding the burnt-offerings, "written in the law of Moses, the man of God" (Ezra iii. 2), are in Lev. i. Indeed, there is no evidence whatever that any of the ancient Jews ever thought of limiting the book of the law in the manner now proposed by Delitzsch and Kurtz. But this view rests entirely on the supposition, shown in the chapter on the unity of the Pentateuch to be opposed by the whole evidence of the case, that Deuteronomy is an independent production, which does not presuppose the existence of the other books, and is, in fact, complete without them. After what had been already advanced on that subject, it might be sufficient summarily to dispose of the objections of these critics to the absence of more express statements as to the authorship of the earlier books of the Pentateuch, on the ground of the proved unity of the whole work; but being the latest objections on this subject, and urged by writers who are not to be classed with the extreme opponents of the genuineness, it was deemed to be more satisfactory to consider them in this connection rather than in the previous inquiry into the unity of the composition.

It only remains to notice a remark of Delitzsch on the relation of Deuteronomy to the other books of the Law. When this writer maintains that the book of Deuteronomy does not assume that the earlier legislation had been committed to writing, but rather the reverse, from the great freedom with which it is recapitulated, he must have overlooked the fact that such a supposition is irreconcilable with such statements in the work itself as occur in chap. xxviii. 56, 61; xxix. 19.

¹ Davidson sets aside this evidence by supposing that Ezra's reading on the second day from another part of the Pentateuch than Deuteronomy, was *additional and voluntary*, after which, "he may have read the book of Deuteronomy, and so fulfilled the original command."—Introduc. p. 615. The question put by this author on the immediately preceding page of his work, with respect to Hengstenberg's conjecture, that the selection of the sections may have been left to the discretion of the spiritual overseers, is suggested here.—"How does he know this?"

20, 26 ; xxx. 10, not to mention chap. xxxi. 9-13, already considered. With regard to these, a very natural question would be, How could a legislator like Moses, by a threat of plagues and judgments in the event of disobedience, charge the people and their posterity to observe all the commands of the book of the Law, if the book which he delivered to them did not include all those laws which properly constituted his legislation? For instance, the sabbatical year, concerning which directions are given in Ex. xxiii. 10, and more fully in Lev. xxv. 2-5, was one of the most important of the Israelitish institutions, as appears from a notice in Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, 43, of the calamities which its non-observance would bring upon them (comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21), yet in Deuteronomy (xv. 2, 3 ; xxxi. 10) its nature and obligations are taken for granted, or it is simply referred to as a year of release, when all debts due by the Hebrews to one another should be fully remitted. Or, is it reasonable to suppose that a legislator like Moses would assume, that after his decease any one should place upon record what he himself had omitted, or that such a composition would secure a reception, or even be entitled to such, as an authority in matters of the very highest importance to the state, and to individuals? Or could he assume, with any degree of probability, that in these circumstances his legislation would, for any length of time, be preserved uncorrupted?

These improbabilities are not lessened by the supposition of Kurtz, that the earlier legislation had been recorded under the inspection of Moses, but that it was not until after his death that, with the addition of the book of Deuteronomy, written by the lawgiver himself, it was formed into the present Pentateuch. This assumption is incompatible with the mention of the book of the Law, in Deut. xxviii. 58, 61 ; xxix. 19, 20, 27 ; xxx. 10 ; since, as already remarked, "this book of the law" cannot have been a work independent of Deuteronomy ; nor can it have been that book itself, but only the complete book of the law, which Moses finished when he had written his closing addresses to the people, and which he delivered to them after its completion (Deut. xxxi. 24). And still more incompatible are all such suppositions with the concern manifested by Moses in this solemn act of delivering the

book to the priests, in order to be safely deposited in the ark, thus availing himself of every means for securing its preservation and purity. Was it only Deuteronomy that was to be thus cared for, and were other productions of Moses, which, unquestioned by Kurtz, are contained in the earlier books, left in less secure keeping, to be added to or altered, as might happen? The extreme care manifested with regard to what these objectors themselves allow constitutes but one portion of the Mosaic writings, viewed in connection with the author's leaving his remaining productions to their fate, though not less important than the part so sedulously watched over, is itself a sufficient confutation of all these theories.

But, indeed, the freer treatment of the subject in Deuteronomy, as compared with the earlier books, from which Delitzsch would deduce an argument in support of his own view, furnishes the strongest possible evidence against it. This free treatment of the earlier legislation, while it shows the authority of the lawgiver himself, in thus moulding it to suit his purpose at the time, and by an exposition, as it were, bringing more prominently to view than could be done on the first promulgation of the law, the spirit concealed under the letter, so far from excluding the pre-existence, in a documentary form, of that earlier legislation, decidedly pre-supposes it. This is more evidently the case, from the consideration of the numerous modifications by which, as given in Deuteronomy, the laws were adapted to the altered circumstances of the people, and in some instances partially or totally abrogated,—circumstances which naturally would have excluded them, as antiquated and obsolete, from a document subsequently composed, inasmuch as the insertion of such matters might be prejudicial to the reception of the legislation, by giving it an appearance of changeableness or contradiction.¹

¹ See above, B. i. ch. 2, sect. 5, pp. 116-118, and also B. ii. ch. 2, sect. 2, p. 271.

SECT. II.—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO THE AUTHOR OF THE
PENTATEUCH.

The authorship of the Pentateuch, it must be perceived, is so firmly settled by its own express testimony, so credible and consistent in every respect with every collateral consideration deducible from the work, whether as regards the time and place of its origin or the character of its author, that it needs confirmation from no foreign quarter. And, on the other hand, it may safely be affirmed, that to shake this testimony would require no inconsiderable amount of evidence, and of a far higher character than that employed by even the most learned and cautious opponents of the genuineness. Something other than rash assertions, or wild theories, is needed in a case of this kind; it is indispensable that there be produced substantial facts. Such, however, have not yet been produced, notwithstanding the strong opposition long manifested towards this work; while, on the contrary, an examination of its character and structure cannot fail to convey the impression that there is no production, at least of ancient times, not even any portion of Scripture itself, whose authorship is better authenticated than that of the Pentateuch, or with regard to which there is, in reality, less room for question.

Although, therefore, in one aspect, the evidence considered in the preceding section may be deemed amply sufficient for the present purpose, yet, in order to render the subject more complete, by exhibiting the unanimity of view entertained on this point from the first promulgation of the work, and which thus furnishes testimony to the plain, unambiguous, and credible character of the internal evidence as to its origin, there will be now added whatever bears on the subject in the subsequent Hebrew literature, as also the statements of the Founder and first teachers of Christianity.

Within these limits it would be well always to confine such an inquiry, while there certainly can be no ground for denying to this evidence the character of *external*, using the term with respect to the Pentateuch itself, and not in reference to the Jewish community. Here foreign testimony of

any value cannot, indeed, be reasonably expected. Not only the isolation of the Israelites throughout their national existence from the nations of the earth, but the great antiquity of their earlier Scriptures, must have rendered any notices of them by heathen writers both meagre and modern, and certainly such as cannot for a moment be compared to the evidence furnished by the national literature and traditions. This observation is the more necessary, because the adducing of heathen writers who make mention of Moses, only gives occasion to the opponents to declaim against the recency of the proof, overlooking entirely the only proper testimony. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that its true place should be assigned to the only legitimate evidence available in a question of this kind, and to intimate distinctly that, with regard to what the opponents of the genuineness term *external* evidence, if equivalent to foreign, there need be no dispute either as to its amount or character.¹

§ 1. *The Testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures.*

That Moses, their renowned lawgiver, was the author of the Pentateuch, the greater part of which is occupied with his legislation, and the remainder very much with an account of the origin of the people, and the manner in which they were prepared for its reception, was never at any time questioned by any party in the ancient Hebrew community. All their historians, poets, and prophets, wherever they had occasion to advert to the subject, present no equivocal testimony to the Mosaic authorship of what, from the beginning of the national existence, was recognised as the law. Upon this point there is nothing which, by any possibility, can be regarded as indicating doubt or suspicion in any quarter whatever, and much less construed into any opposing testimony. Even in the latest periods of the Israelitish history, after the

¹ See with respect to this, *Westminster Review*, vol. xviii., where a reviewer of Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures, disparaging that work on the ground that "Mr. R. strangely contents himself with citing authors of the

Macedonian, and even of the Roman Empire," observes: "To the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch true criticism finds not an atom of *external* testimony, and but slight vouchers for its authenticity."—(P. 35.)

close of the Old Testament canon, and when a division into sects and parties, entertaining the utmost jealousy of one another, gave rise to the most discordant views of doctrine, and consequently of the authority due to various portions of what purported to be their sacred literature, the Pentateuch, as a Mosaic production, was unhesitatingly, and indeed with the highest deference, received by Pharisees and Sadducees, and even by the Samaritans, who, whatever may have been their collateral relation, stood in a decidedly hostile attitude to Israel. This is, at least, strong evidence that the intimations of the Pentateuch, as to its origin, were considered clear and unequivocal, and that there was nothing discerned in its character inconsistent with such professions or claims.

The path already followed in tracing the existence of the Pentateuch, from the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, will likewise furnish evidence as to its authorship, but of course not so copious as that which bears on the other fact; for, from the very nature of the case, it will be seen, that though there might be numerous references to the contents of a work like the Pentateuch, which was *the* book of the nation, it is seldom that there would be occasion to mention its author, owing, indeed, in great measure, to the authority which itself possessed. Still these references are numerous and significant.

This is particularly the case in the book of Joshua, for which, indeed, there is an obvious reason, from its peculiar relation to the Pentateuch, being, in great part, a narrative of the performance of various acts and arrangements entrusted by Moses to his successor. Thus, on Joshua's entrance upon his office, God charged him: "Be thou strong, and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee," (Josh. i. 7). That this law was in a documentary form, appears from ver. 8, where it is described as "this book of the law," which was to be the subject of constant meditation by Joshua, that he might "observe to do according to all that is written therein." Again, mention is made (chap. viii. 31) of "the book of the law of Moses;" and this reference is of the more importance, because the passage records the performance of an act commanded in the Pentateuch, (Deut. xxvii.,) and so identifies, as

shewn in the preceding section, that portion of the work at least with "the book of the law of Moses." Joshua "read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law. There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel," (ver. 34, 35). The law was thus solemnly promulgated on the Israelites' entrance into Canaan, while every subsequent transaction of Joshua is described as carrying out its provisions: "As the Lord commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so did Joshua; he left nothing undone of all that the Lord commanded Moses," (xi. 15). And before his death Joshua summoned to him all Israel, and charged them "to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses," (xxiii. 6). In a subsequent assembly, after recapitulating the history of the Pentateuch from the call of Abraham, he made a covenant with the people on their promise of obedience, and "wrote these words in the book of the law of God," (xxiv. 26).

The next express mention of the Law, as denominated after Moses, if not of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch,—for the opponents of the genuineness insist on this distinction, though it contributes little to their object,—is in David's dying charge to Solomon, to "keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses, *that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest*, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself" (1 Kings ii. 3). With this compare the words of Moses in Deut. xxix. 9: "Keep, therefore, the words of this covenant, and do them, *that ye may prosper in all that ye do;*" which evidently were present to the mind of David at the time, and show that his use of the expression, "the law of Moses," implied that it was written, as well as promulgated, by Moses. In the time of Manasseh, mention is made of "the law" which "Moses commanded," (2 Kings xxi. 8,) and afterwards, in the reign of Josiah, "the law of Moses" is mentioned, 2 Kings xxiii. 25; see also 2 Chron. xxiii. 18. But still more express is the notice in 2 Kings xiv. 6, of "the book of the law of Moses," followed by a quotation from Deut. xxiv. 16. The passover kept by Hezekiah

was celebrated by the priests and Levites, "after the manner, according to the law of Moses, the man of God," (2 Chron. xxx. 16); and it deserves notice, that for the reason assigned in ver. 3, the celebration was postponed from the first to the second month, according to the provision made by the supplementary law, in Num. ix. 10, 11. Hezekiah kept the commandments "which the Lord commanded Moses" (2 Kings xviii. 6). And it is on account of disobedience to "all that Moses, the servant of the Lord, commanded," that the ten tribes are stated to have been carried into captivity (ver. 12).

During the Babylonian exile references are made to what is "written in the law of Moses" (Dan. ix. 11, 13). And after the Restoration, when the old system was re-established, the same expressions occur (Ezra iii. 2), and also "the book of Moses" (vi. 18). The priest Ezra was "a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given" (vii. 6; comp. ver. 11, 21). And the Old Testament almost closes with this admonition: "Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments" (Mal. iv. 4),—a very significant memorial, on the part of the author of the last portion of the canon, to the writer with whose production the volume opened so many centuries before.

The New Testament writings, viewed simply for the present as ancient Jewish witnesses, reflecting various matters with regard to the national belief at the time of their composition, carry down this testimony to a much later period, and show that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was a clearly recognised fact. This fully appears from various applications made by the Jews to Christ regarding observances or expositions of the law. Thus, with regard to the lawfulness of a man's repudiating his wife, the Pharisees ask, with reference to Deut. xxiv. 1: "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement?" (Matt. xix. 7). And the Sadducees, the other leading and rival sect, with reference to the levirate law, in Deut. xxv. 5, come to Christ for explanations, and introduce their case in the words: "Master, Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die," &c. (Mark xii. 19) Finally, the expected Messiah was described as he "of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write" (John i. 45)

The testimony of Philo and Josephus, and of various classic authors, is all to the same effect ; but these it is unnecessary to refer to.

§ 2. *The Testimony of Christ and His Apostles.*

The New Testament writings, however, in their bearing on this subject, must be viewed in another and higher light than that just noticed. They not merely, as historical documents, exhibit the popular belief of the Jews with respect to the Mosaic origin of the law, and the books in which it was preserved—they sanction that belief with the full authority of Christ himself and his apostles.

It will be sufficient to adduce the more important passages only in confirmation of this statement. Thus, on more than one occasion, our Lord classed all the Old Testament Scriptures under the names of "Moses and the prophets." With regard to their sufficiency as to matters of faith, he observed, "They have Moses and the prophets ; let them hear them ;" and, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead," (Luke xvi. 29, 31). And when instructing his disciples in the Messianic predictions—although in this case the division may be that of the evangelist—"beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself," (Luke xxiv. 27). Sometimes he notices the more usual threefold division: "The law of Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms," (ver. 44). With reference to particular passages and intimations in the Mosaic writings, our Lord remarks, "That the dead are raised Moses showed at the bush, when he called the Lord, the God of Abraham," &c., (Luke xx. 37) ; or, as in the parallel passage, (Mark xx. 26,) "Have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying," &c., (comp. Ex. iii. 6). And addressing himself to the Jews, he says : "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me ; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words ?" (John v. 46, 47).¹

¹ Alford: "This is an important testimony by the Lord to the *subject* of the whole Pentateuch. It is also a testimony to the *fact* of Moses *having*

written those books, which were then, and are still, known by his name."—*Greek Test.*, i. 680.

The Apostle Peter, in a public address to his countrymen, prefaces a quotation from Deut. xviii. 15, with the remark : "For Moses truly said unto the fathers," (Acts iii. 22). Paul, too, in attestation of his doctrines, appealed to "the law of Moses and the prophets," (Acts xxviii. 23), and in Rom. x. 5, 6, quotes, as Moses' description of "the righteousness which is of the law," passages from Lev. xviii. 5, and Deut. xxx. 12, 13. And speaking of the blindness of the Jews with respect to their law, he says : "But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart," (2 Cor. iii. 15).

This unqualified testimony to the Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch, alone is sufficient to procure for it the assent of all who are willing to recognise as unerring truth the Scriptures of the New Testament ; but with others a different line of argument must be adopted, for the opponents of the genuineness of the opening portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, in order to evade the force of this irresistible evidence, and retain, at the same time, a show of respect for the Christian Scriptures, do not hesitate to characterise the testimony in question as only an accommodation to Jewish errors and prejudices. They maintain, from Le Clerc downwards, that it formed no part of the mission of Christ and his apostles to instruct the Jews in matters of criticism—not considering that, though they may not have been teachers of criticism, yet they were certainly, as Witsius remarks,¹ "teachers of truth," and of criticism too—if the term is allowable—when the current criticism and interpretation were opposed to truth.² How utterly unsupported this pretended accommodation is, must be evident to every impartial reader, who considers the passages adduced above, and particularly John v. 46, 47, where belief in the *writings of Moses*, and in Christ's own words, are so intimately related, that the divinity of the Redeemer's mission is so connected with the Divine authority of the law, as to constitute with it one whole. But it is unnecessary to pursue this discussion here ; it is enough

¹ Fuerunt tamen Doctores veritatis—Miscell. Sac. 115.

² Davidson, while admitting this, adds: "But Moses is represented by them merely as the originator and

writer of the law, without ascribing to him the authorship of the five books in their present condition."—Introd., p. 617. But why such a distinction, and on what ground does it rest?

to indicate the nature of the conclusions to which a denial of the genuineness or Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch conducts the believer in any single portion of Scripture, whether of the Old Testament or of the New. "If," as Hävernicks remarks, "a belief in Christ really stands in such close connection with a belief in Moses, as the Saviour testifies, then the consequence follows, to which the criticism of the opponents of the genuineness is necessarily driven—namely, the rejection of the authority of Christ. 'And thus,' says Sack, 'the dawning of literature in its oldest productions, which are otherwise, from the nature of the case, involved in obscurity, may be proved by the words of Him who claimed the name of the Truth, to be even still the first and surest testimony for all inquiry which retains confidence in the words of Christ.'"¹

¹ Einleitung, I., ii. 568.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PENTATEUCH AS REGARDS, I. THE NON-MIRACULOUS PART OF THE HISTORY.

ONE of the many noticeable features in the history of the controversy so long waged by the opponents of the genuineness and credibility of the Sacred Scriptures, more particularly of the Pentateuch, as appears from an early chapter of this work, is the ever varying character of the objections on which their chief reliance is placed. The old appear to be continually giving place in the course of discussion to new arguments, and these, judging from past experience, are likely to be in their turn supplanted by others, which, however, appear formidable only while their novelty lasts and their strength is untried.

In marked contrast to the fluctuating aspect of the controversy is the immobility of the object with which it is concerned, and the increased solidity which these repeated attacks serve only to impart to that most ancient of literary monuments, inasmuch as the attention thus directed to new subjects of investigation, not unfrequently affords unexpected confirmation of the truth of the Mosaic statements. To this, in connection with the progressive increase of human knowledge, scientific and historical, it is chiefly owing that the old offensive weapons are so frequently rendered useless, and that the ground of controversy is so repeatedly changed, without ever securing to the opponents of revelation any considerable or continued triumph. It would indeed seem that Providence so watches over the character of these ancient records that the age which supplies apparently the most formidable objections provides simultaneously, or at no perceptible interval, the

means for effectually answering them; and if the present age is beyond any preceding period sceptically disposed to question all evidence, whatever its presumed authority, it is no less qualified intelligently to examine it, simply on its own merits; while it may with all confidence be asserted that never did the Sacred Scriptures present to the most critical and rigorous scrutiny so many and indisputable credentials as at the present day, and consisting in no small part, it may be truly said, of the very spoils of the enemy. It is this peculiar feature in the opposition to the Bible that gives to its friends and defenders, even when harrassed, it may be, with new and subtle difficulties, confidence that all such objections shall in due time be satisfactorily answered, and all obscurities cleared away, so far at least as concerns its Divine origin and authority.

In the remarks to be here offered in vindication and support of the historical credibility of the Pentateuch, it must suffice, for the sake of brevity, to indicate generally the various kinds of argument available for the purpose, and to examine the bearing of the more important discoveries, scientific and antiquarian, of modern times, on these records of the primeval and patriarchal ages, in so far as these several sources of information touch on the same points as the Sacred Record. Of course the relation can be only incidental; and so far as any historical correspondence may be anticipated, it can only be in respect to the later period of the Pentateuchal narrative, and particularly what concerns the connexion of the Israelites with Egypt.

SECT. I. THE PENTATEUCH AS RELATED TO MODERN SCIENCE.

Dana, J. D., *Science and the Bible*. Biblioth. Sac., Jan. 1856. xiii. 80-129.—Barrows, *The Mosaic Narrative of the Creation considered grammatically and in its relations to Science*. Bib. Sac. Oct. 1856, pp. 743-789. Jan. 1857, pp. 61-98.—Miller, *The Testimony of the Rocks*. Edin., 1857.—Dawson, *Archæia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures*. Montreal, 1860.—Smyth, *The Unity of the Human Races*. Edin., 1851.—Cabell, *The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind*. 2nd ed. New York, 1859.

No portion of Scripture, it must be distinctly understood, was written with the view of imparting scientific truths. The entire aim of the Sacred Record is moral and religious, being a revelation of God and also of man, in their relation of Creator and moral creature; but still its utterances on any subject whatever, cannot be in contradiction to any truth, however discovered or established. This, every considerate defender of the Bible must be prepared to maintain at all hazards, without, however, holding that the language in which physical phenomena are therein described is other than popular, or makes any claim to a scientific character. It is, however, only incidentally that Scripture comes into contact with science; and when it does so it is only, or at least chiefly, with that department of it which relates to the origin and physical history of the earth and man. And even here, the Bible does not assume to teach science, or to acquaint man with the history of the preparation of his dwelling-place; its object is far higher, to reveal to him the person and character of his Creator. And the same as regards other particulars of a physical nature with which the Pentateuch more than any other portion of Scripture is directly concerned.

The history of the creation, and of the fall of man, the account of the deluge, with the subsequent dispersion and settlements of the nations descended from the survivors of that catastrophe, present many points of contact with modern investigations and discoveries. There was, indeed, for a time, between the teachings of science and the supposed utterances of Scripture on these points something of an unfriendly aspect, magnified by the confident expectations of one party into irreconcilable contradictions, while viewed by another with

equally unfounded distrust and alarm ; but even from this apparent opposition valuable contributions have been deduced for the elucidation, and even confirmation, of the ancient Hebrew records. Hitherto, or to within a recent period, indeed, some of the hypotheses put forth in the name of science have been in direct conflict with some of the clearest and most express testimonies of Scripture, but in many instances such theories have been pronounced by competent authorities to be no less opposed to true scientific deductions than to Biblical statements. But it should be remarked that although what must be regarded, so far as the case stands at present, as trustworthy testimonies of science, in reference to matters within its own proper department, appeared at first to conflict in various instances with Scripture, yet, as further examination proved, it was in reality only with a particular interpretation of it, a matter in respect to which no protestant reader or expositor will claim infallibility. Discrepancies of this kind so far from prejudicially affecting the character of the record, only lead to a more careful examination of its statements.

§ 1. *The Mosaic History of the Creation in general,
and of Man.*

The Hebrew Scriptures open with a narrative of the creation of the universe, and more particularly of the earth, which has long been celebrated for the sublimity of its style and the symmetry of its structure ; but far higher than any literary or æsthetic considerations, is the momentous character of its statements. It purports to be an account of the successive stages through which the earth passed from the creation of the primordial elements constituting the universe, and the contemporaneously produced portion of it set apart to be the abode of man, down to the period of his introduction into the residence thus prepared for his reception ; while the narrative which immediately follows supplies a detailed account of man's own creation and original condition, and the constitution, physical, moral and social, under which he was placed by his Creator. The information supplied with regard to these matters, is, if authentic, of the utmost interest to man, and of importance for securing his well-being, present and prospec-

tive, by clearly defining the relation in which he stands, both to the Creator, and to the creation of which he forms a part.

Various other books, however, of a professedly sacred character, as the Puranas of India, have introductions of a somewhat similar purport with that of the Bible, but greatly different in character; for those speculations are palpably inconsistent with reason and correct notions of nature. So much, indeed, is there of false science blended with a false theology, and to such a degree is the latter pledged to the former, that the entire system falls to pieces before the simplest principles of a true philosophy of nature. Other nations of antiquity, too, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Babylonians and Greeks, had their cosmogonic theories: they may not have so closely connected these with a religious creed as in the case of the Hindoos; but so far as such views have been preserved, they exhibit similar extravagances, and at the same time all of them present some faint analogies to the narrative of the Hebrew Scriptures. But whatever may be the extent of similarity, indicative, doubtless, of some common source, or original connexion in these ultimately greatly diversified views, the divergence between them and the Mosaic cosmogony is of the most marked kind.

The Biblical narrative of creation is simple and consistent: it is utterly devoid of aught that can be reckoned extravagance, and never outrages right reason. It is not only in a state of non-antagonism to science, so as to occupy a mere neutral position; its statements are in strictest harmony with modern discoveries. It teaches, among other important truths, that the present system of things, though of long continuance, is not eternal, but had a beginning, both as regards form and motion; that light which acts so important a part in the whole economy of nature, from the aggregation of the elementary bodies upwards to the various forms of vital organization, and which is here expressly distinguished from the celestial luminaries, whence it is at present dispensed, was the first of created agents; that light was succeeded by the atmospheric arrangements on which depend all meteorological processes, and as indispensable for organic life as the antecedent agent was for this, and for the preceding inorganic combinations. The introduction of life upon the earth, terminating with the creation

of man, to whom a place peculiarly his own is assigned in the scale of being, proceeded, it is found, in the order indicated by the sciences of geology and physiology,¹ while the whole creative process, from its beginning to its close, is declared to have extended over six indefinite periods, termed "days," after the measure of time most comprehensible to man, but more especially as indicating seasons of activity in connexion with, and in contrast to others of repose,—mornings and evenings;² (comp. Ps. civ. 23).

The distinction made with respect to that all-pervading power, light, and the bodies from which it is most copiously emitted, with the further notice, that its creation preceded the adjustments necessary for storing it in the sun, which was henceforth constituted to distribute it over nature, is a fact worthy of most careful consideration. It is a truth only recently recognised by philosophy, and is so opposed to all appearances and probabilities, that the statements of the Hebrew lawgiver on the subject were long confidently urged, by such as arrogated to themselves superior discernment, as clear indications of the falsity of his views. But surely now, that the truth of these statements has been incontrovertibly established, the appearances and the probabilities which so long militated against the writer of Genesis, and which would unquestionably have led any one less informed to state the reverse, should proportionally weigh in his favour, and show that his information was derived from a higher source than the mere contemplation of nature, or the speculations, whether of Hebrew or Egyptian sages. It may, with the utmost confidence, be maintained, that this was no accidental coincidence, or a discovery of the writer of the narrative himself. Nor is it more conceivable that he was indebted for it to any of his contemporaries; it therefore only remains, that he was led to this mode of stating the fact, though possibly without any knowledge of the scientific bearing of the question, by the Creator of the universe himself.³

¹ Miller, *Footprints of the Creator*. Lond. 1849.

² See, on this and other particulars only adverted to here, the Author's *Creation and the Fall*, pp. 68-109. Edin. 1856.

³ Prof. Dana:—"At last, through

modern scientific research, we learn that the appearance of light on the first day, and of the sun on the fourth,—an idea foreign to man's unaided conceptions,—is as much in the volume of nature as that of sacred writ."—*Bib. Sac.* Jan. 1856, p. 118.

This is only one of the many remarkable revelations contained in the first chapter of Genesis ; another, not less worthy of consideration, and from the variety of particulars which it embraces even more striking, is the order in which it intimates, though in popular and general terms, creation succeeded creation in the organic world. So soon as the earth's surface was laid bare of its watery covering, a Divine mandate was issued that it should be clothed with vegetation, which is admitted to be the ultimate support of all animal existence. This was succeeded by the creation of various denizens of the deep, and of the winged creatures of the air ; while a subsequent act of the great creative process peopled the dry land with its proper tenants,—“the beast of the earth after its kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind” (Gen. i. 25). The order here is, the wild beasts of the field and forest, the domestic animals, and the smaller classes of land animals, for it is to such that the expression “creeping” applies, and not to the reptilia, which were included in a former act in connexion with the peopling of the waters. And last of all was introduced, as the capital and crown of creation, rational and responsible man, made in the image of the Creator, and constituted his earthly representative, and with that view invested with authority over the whole inferior creation.

No doubt, between this record of creation and that inscribed on the rocky bosom of the earth, there may be some noticeable variations, as for instance in the respective places assigned to the vegetable creation compared with some of the lower forms of animal life ; but this can be explained on various grounds connected with the character and the reading of the two records. With respect to the one, there is the fact already adverted to, that the narrative is in very general terms, and touches only the great points of the creative process ; while, with regard to the other, it is not an unwarrantable conclusion that some of its pages have not yet been read, or that the earliest of them may have, indeed, perished. As to the leading features, however, the harmony is remarkable ; and such is all that can or need be reasonably expected in a matter of this kind ; while, at the same time, there is the strongest presumption that the progress of scientific discovery will not affect the great principles already established, whatever it may

do with regard to matters of detail, and their bearing one way or another on the Biblical history.

Further, very remarkable is the amount of information communicated in the few brief intimations of the opening chapter of Genesis. This is no less striking than the accordance which it exhibits with the most recent results of scientific investigations into the various departments of nature, and which are here so wonderfully epitomised. In a few short sentences is condensed the whole history of creation, and the result of processes carried on for untold ages; every part rightly proportioned, and not a single sentence misplaced. Who selected the information, and who so skilfully abridged it? These are, indeed, questions which, if Divine inspiration be excluded, it will be extremely difficult if not impossible to answer.¹ Nearly all that is communicated in the narrative of creation preceded the origin of man. It could not, therefore, have been the product of experience handed down by tradition to the Mosaic age; and as little ground is there for holding that in any of those early periods there was sufficient acquaintance with scientific principles, deduced from a long and careful study of nature, to enable an observer, however favourably situated, to classify the various animal forms in the precise order indicated in the succession according to which the old Hebrew history introduced them on the earth, or to read the history of the earth itself, and the several changes through which it passed, as inscribed by the Creator on its solid crust. It must be very obvious, that if the Hebrew history of the creation had not been written under the guidance of the same Divine hand that fashioned the earth itself, it must long ago, by universal consent, have been pronounced false, not only in respect to one or two particulars, but equally so with regard to all its statements; and the inquiry would never have been limited, as it now fortunately is, by the pro-

¹ Prof. Dana: "The first thought that strikes the scientific reader is the evidence of Divinity, not merely in the first verse of the record, and the successive *fiats*, but in the whole order of creation. There is so much that the most recent readings of science have for the first time explained, that the

idea of man as the author becomes utterly incomprehensible. By proving the record true, science pronounces it Divine; for who could have correctly narrated the secrets of eternity but God himself?" — *Biblioth. Sac.*, vol. xiii. p. 110.

gress of science and the application of sounder exegetical rules, to the few points which to some degree still form a subject of controversy, the most important of which being the period over which creation extended, or the particular acceptation of the word "day" in the Biblical narrative.

As to this latter point, however, it may be remarked, that without pledging Scripture to this or any other particular interpretation, as the right solution of the difficulty, there is nothing in the narrative of creation to preclude taking the word "day" to refer to those immense ages which geology shews were comprised in the formation and preparation of the earth. On the contrary, and apart entirely from any geological consideration, such an interpretation is, more than any other, in harmony with the spirit of the narrative.¹ But were the relation between modern science and this portion of Scripture otherwise, and instead of one or two difficulties remaining unsolved in a subject which from its extent, and from the manner in which it is introduced in the Mosaic history, might well be supposed to present numerous and perplexing enigmas, there were only a general harmony between the two records, it would be enough to prove the authority and credibility of the Hebrew historian, inasmuch as even such a result has never been known in the case of any other writings laying claim to a sacred character. The actual state of the case is, however, far more favourable than this.

It is impossible to advert with any minuteness to all the interesting particulars in which modern science bears a friendly aspect to, if it does not confirm, the Biblical statements on the subject of creation, and general remarks would be very unsatisfactory. Notice must, however, be taken of two such points, more especially as the Mosaic testimony concerning them differs entirely from the general belief of ancient times, including the most cultivated nations of antiquity. The

¹ "It appears that, from internal evidence alone, it can be rendered probable that the day of creation is neither the natural nor the civil day. It also appears that the objections urged against the doctrine of day-periods are of no

weight when properly scrutinised, and that it harmonises with the progressive nature of the work, the evidences of geology, and the cosmological notions of ancient nations." — *Dawson's Archaeia*, p. 128.

points in question are the period of the human creation, and the manner of it ; or, in other words, the antiquity and unity of the species—matters with regard to which even still many hold views diametrically opposed to those of Scripture.

i. THE HUMAN PERIOD.—Man's appearance on the earth is not merely the last in the series of creating processes, as it is represented in Genesis, and confirmed by modern science, so far as the absence of all traces of any subsequent creation can be said to furnish proof on the subject, it is the only event of the kind whose absolute date can in some degree be definitely determined. The sole ground, however, on which a near approximation can be made as to the time of man's creation, is the fact of its having been made the starting point of the Hebrew chronology, which, with a few inconsiderable interruptions, reaches down, in their canonical Scriptures, to within a few centuries of the Christian era, and far beyond the limits at which the course of history can be ascertained from other sources. It is quite unnecessary for the present purpose to notice any of the difficulties, arising either from a supposed corruption of the text, or want of continuity in the narrative, which present themselves to the Biblical chronologer, or to determine with anything like precision the period from the creation to the Christian era thus resulting, whether, according to the Hebrew text, it embraces four thousand years, or with the Septuagint, it reaches to six thousand. In any case, it is a comparatively limited period as contrasted with the very remote origin which science assigns to the earth itself, and which Scripture does not gainsay ; and also with the immense duration which, in their vanity, some nations of antiquity claimed for themselves, and which some modern scholars, on what evidence remains to be seen, are disposed to recognise.

There is, however, no fact in science more clearly established than the recent introduction of man into the habitation so long in preparation for him. Creation after creation passed away, but left in their stony sepulchres memorials of their existence. Even of the existing creation, contemporaneous with man, there are many such memorials ; but of man himself, whether as regards his animal remains or his workmanship, no well authenticated traces have been found lower than the present superficial covering of the earth,—indicating,

though of course negatively, that man's presence is limited to a period long subsequent to the deposition of all the strata termed fossiliferous. Such is the present state of the question, after an examination by competent judges of the facts which at various times have been alleged in favour of an earlier date to the human creation. Geology and Scripture agree in testifying that our race is but of yesterday when compared with the antecedent creations; and there is nothing in the records of humanity itself, literary or monumental, which, when critically scrutinized, is at variance with the Biblical statement. The hasty conclusions with respect to an Egyptian antiquity, deduced from the Zodiacs of Denderah and Esneh, and the mummy inscriptions at Thebes, have been proved utterly fallacious;¹ and the same, no doubt, will be the result in the case of the fragments of pottery and burnt brick recently discovered at a great depth by boring in the alluvium of the Nile, and the flints, said to bear traces of human workmanship, found throughout Europe, and to which attention is particularly directed at present. With respect to the fragments of Egyptian pottery, from which it was assumed that man must have been at work 13,000 years ago, the question may be said to be already settled, by the fact that fragments of *burnt brick* are found along with those of the pottery, thus indicating a period not earlier than that of the Roman dominion.² And with regard to the flints, there is as yet no decisive evidence that they were fashioned by human hands.³

In remarkable contrast to the chronology of Moses was that, as already adverted to, of the Egyptians, among whom he was educated, with its long lists and reigns, dynasties of gods, demigods, and heroes; and also of the Chinese, and of various nations of India, which still maintain a claim to an

¹ Hamilton, *The Pentateuch and its Assailants*, p. xix.

² *Quarterly Review*, Apr. 1859, p. 421. *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July 1859, p. 386.

³ See Ansted (*Geological Gossip*, pp. 203-226. Lond. 1860), who argues in the affirmative; but, on the other side, see Anderson (*The Geologic Age of Man in its present aspects*. Edin. 1859), who concludes: "The *Geologic Age of*

Man, in its present Aspects, is in nothing more determinate than the fact, that man is indubitably the last in the list of organized creatures which have successively tenanted this terrestrial globe. Man is in no sense a *fossil* of the rocks. Besides, I see no evidence deducible from the *superficial drifts* to warrant a departure from the usually accepted date of man's *very recent* introduction upon the earth."—P. 35.

antiquity inconsistent with every historical relation, and for which there is no confirmation save the deceptions, astronomical and historical, to which they have resorted for that purpose. This moderation or considerateness, so to speak, of the Hebrew historian, contrasts favourably, to say the least of it, with the reception extensively awarded by men of learning, to what has, after careful and dispassionate scrutiny, been pronounced utterly fabulous; the calculations of eclipses and other astronomical phenomena, produced in attestation of such chronologies, being found to have been only reckoned backward. How was the Hebrew historian uninfluenced by the Egyptian claims to high antiquity, with which he must have been doubtless conversant?¹ How was he preserved from the impositions by which their extravagant claims were maintained, and against which scholars of modern times have not been proof? Was it not his interest, were it only to obtain acceptance for his history, to fall in as much as possible in matters of this kind with the general belief? Was it necessary that he should set himself against the historical and ethnographical notions of the time if they were really well authenticated; or had he not, equally with others, a motive for assigning a much greater antiquity to his own people than he has done? That Moses has carefully avoided all these false influences and examples, is in itself an important distinction; but that he has, in the most explicit and consistent manner, followed a chronology which the continued progress of scientific and historical investigation serves only to confirm, is a fact altogether inexplicable, except on the supposition, warranted even more by some of the other circumstances, of Divine guidance extending to all the particulars of this ancient record.

ii. THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE. That mankind, notwithstanding all the marked diversities of form, colour and language, by which, as well in the Mosaic age as at present they are distinguished, originated from a common parentage, is a fundamental principle of Scripture. This doctrine is

¹ Bunsen:—"The Egyptians, like all other nations possessing very ancient records, *the Jews only excepted*, have, from early times, exaggerated the dates of their history, or mixed them up with astronomical calculations relative to

the primeval annals of the globe, to which their own approximated,—calculations difficult to understand, and which have accordingly been misunderstood."—*Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 6.

expressly taught in the narrative of the creation, is assumed throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, and is adopted without any qualification in the New Testament, and not merely as a theoretical question but as a substantial fact, constituting, indeed, both expressly and by implication, one of the leading principles in the economy of redemption. On the place and importance of the doctrine, however, in its bearing on man's present condition or future prospects, it is unnecessary to enlarge. It may suffice to remark, that so expressly is it taught throughout the Bible that the attempts of a former age now again renewed to force another meaning on the narrative of man's creation, by referring it solely to the ancestors of the Israelites, in order thereby to permit the existence of earlier or contemporaneous races, would, even if successful, be of little avail so long as it is contained in the New Testament. More particularly is this the case when such theories are so destitute of evidence, and so opposed to the whole tenor of the narrative as to deserve no serious refutation. No arguments will persuade the unbiassed reader of Genesis that it was not the belief of its author that all mankind, whether the seed of Abraham or Gentiles, was descended from that human pair who had for a time their dwelling in the garden of Eden, and before whose creation "there was no man to till the ground;" and also, that at a subsequent period the race was represented by its second father, Noah, through whose three sons the whole earth was re-peopled after the flood—facts fully corroborated by various statements of the New Testament. To this effect is the testimony in particular of the Apostle Paul in his address to the Athenians—a people who regarded themselves as *autochthones*, sprung from their native soil, and distinct from the rest of mankind—that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of all the earth," (Acts xvii. 26.)

The doctrine of the unity of the human race, as thus taught in Scripture, was quite unknown to the ancient heathen world, and it is still warmly controverted by many modern writers. Various facts in natural history,—the diversities in the physical forms and in the intellectual capacities of different races are, it is alleged by those who take the negative side in this controversy, irreconcilable with the Mosaic theory. But

another class of observers, of equal, if not of superior authority in questions of science, are convinced that all the present diversities of form and colour present no insurmountable objection to the view which regards the various races of mankind as sprung from a common parentage, but are referable to the operation of mere physical causes; while others again, removing the question from the purely physical arena, are not indisposed to admit moral and supernatural influences as contributing to these modifications.

Allowing that there is much uncertainty attached to the point at issue, and that, so far as natural history is concerned, the conclusion either way is one only of probability,—it is important to remark that even in this respect the ground is being gradually narrowed, and that every new fact ascertained is tending to reduce the great diversity both of form and colour which at first view strikes the observer. But even admitting that, as a mere question of natural history, the doctrine of specific unity cannot be established, or that appearances are decidedly against it, there are, however, other testimonies, and these also must be included in balancing the probabilities on either side. There are important evidences of a philological character, which prove that the diversities of language, which are no less remarkable than those of hue and feature, have sprung from one primeval speech; and if it can be satisfactorily proved on scientific grounds, as some of the ablest philologists maintain, that human language was originally one—as expressly taught in Scripture, there can be little question that there was a time when there was only one human family.¹

Various other considerations concur in pointing to an original unity broken up by moral and physical causes; but it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further, or adduce testimonies fully to establish the Mosaic doctrine: as the admission even of its probability will suffice for the present purpose which, in this instance at least, is not so much an inquiry

¹ “The Scriptural ethnography which divides the human family into three great families, the Semitic, Japhetan, and Hamite, is confirmed from so many sources, from tradition, from monuments, from names of tribes and places, from affinities of language, from pro-

fane history, that its correctness, apart from all reference to the divine authority of the Bible, cannot, at least as to its leading features, be reasonably questioned.”—*Brit. and For. Evang. Review*, Apr. 1859, p. 344.

into the credibility as to the source of the doctrine; for naturally considered the Israelitish mind would not be deemed the most likely to arrive at such a conclusion.

The doctrine of the specific unity of mankind, if not incontrovertibly established by science, as probably must at present be admitted, has certainly not been disproved. No fact in science or in history can be produced as furnishing an indisputable confutation of, or materially weakening the Biblical testimony on this point, and yet there was much antecedently opposed to Moses' entertaining such a view, or giving it expression. There are first natural appearances, all of which are hostile to such a theory. All the diversities of complexion and form, manners and languages, with the various other circumstances which conduct many modern observers to quite an opposite conclusion, must have presented themselves, at least in some degree, to the historian of Genesis, and yet he unhesitatingly affirmed that all mankind was originally of one stock. This could not have been merely a conjecture, for conjectures proceed on appearances, and never argue against them. Nor would so careful a writer, as his whole history shews him to have been, taking the very lowest ground, and assuming him to have been an impostor, have unnecessarily committed himself on a point of so much importance, if he did not possess sure information regarding it. But, further, national prejudices or predilections may be supposed to offer still greater opposition to this doctrine on the part of a Hebrew; so that it could not have originated in notions or purposes connected with personal or public glory and aggrandisement. The tendency, indeed, of such a doctrine was in an entirely opposite direction. The heathen nations of antiquity contended with one another for superiority of origin, each regarding itself as descended from some particular deity, or sprung from the native soil; and various other notions of emanation or incarnation also largely prevailed, as they still do among eastern nations. There were thus in the Mosaic age far more than at present, under the influences of Christianity, national castes; and within these, again, personal and family castes, based upon, and in their turn originating, conceptions utterly opposed to the Scriptural doctrine of the unity of the human race, and the natural equality of all mankind before God.

This characteristic of heathenism entered also largely, at least practically, into perverted Judaism, which, particularly in the later stages of its history, regarded with feelings of estrangement and contempt all beyond its own pale; and therefore the more remarkable, as contrasted with this narrow and unsocial spirit, is the doctrine of the national lawgiver regarding the common parentage of Jews and Gentiles. This doctrine, moreover, was not only in opposition to the perverted spirit of Judaism, but was also in a manner counteractive, it might be supposed, of the letter of those enactments of the lawgiver himself, which were intended to separate Israel from the rest of mankind, by drawing a line of demarcation around the covenant people, and counteractive, too, of the purposes thereby contemplated.

In every point of view, then, this doctrine was so opposed to natural appearances and national prejudices, that the place which it occupies in the Hebrew Scriptures is exceedingly singular. It is so diametrically opposed to the entire genius of polytheism, and in a manner at variance with the prejudices and peculiarities of Judaism, that it could only have arisen on the foundation of that correct knowledge which the first chapter of Genesis exhibits of the character of the one universal Creator, and the end contemplated in the formation of man. But whence the information on these points, and how was it exclusively confined to the Hebrews, politically, and as respects profound learning and speculation, one of the most inconsiderable nations of antiquity?

But this universality of sympathy, this all-embracing bond of brotherhood, so distinctly presented on the first page of the Hebrew Scriptures, and which so remarkably introduced what has been frequently regarded, by such as take only a partial view of the matter, a narrow and unsocial system, while in strong antagonism, as stated, to all the principles and forms of heathenism, is really, whatever may be the appearances to the contrary, in eminent harmony with the history and legislation of Moses. Instead of attempting, like other historians, to supply materials for the glorification of his people, by tracing their origin to a remote antiquity and to a special creation, or to the oldest and most honoured branches of some great family, he presents to them a picture every way fitted

to subdue national pride. The youngest sons in this instance generally continued the line of descent, to the exclusion of the older, and, humanly speaking, more honoured sons of the family, from whom, the historian does not conceal, there sprung older collateral races possessed of power and government ere the Israelites had any national existence, and while slaves in Egypt, (Gen. xxxvi. 31); while, further, their proper origin, even as a nomade family, from Abraham, was long subsequent to the establishment, under national constitutions, of some of their powerful neighbours and rivals. And not only so, but the low condition of their immediate ancestor Jacob was to be kept in continued remembrance by the public confession which every Israelite was required to make, when presenting the first-fruits of his ground before the Lord: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father," &c., (Deut. xxvi. 5). It is, however, when viewed in connexion with the many intimations contained in the Pentateuch as to the Divine purposes concerning man, that the harmony of the doctrine of the unity of the human race with the Mosaic scheme more particularly appears. It is there seen to be no anomalous or incidental statement, but occupying a fundamental and consistent place in this record.

The Biblical account of man's fall, which follows that of his creation, calls for some remark in this place. Although the narrative of the fall, (Gen. iii.,) as chiefly occupied with moral relations, does not come into such direct contact with physical observations and discoveries as the account of the creation, still there is a striking accordance of science with some of the effects ascribed to that act of apostasy. It is, however, as compared with human consciousness, that the harmony is most complete; yet it may be well to consider the subject under both these aspects.

(1.) *Evidences in Nature of a Fall.*—Evidences of a ruin, such as is described in the opening pages of the Bible, present themselves on every side in the physical, but chiefly in the moral world. As regards the latter, any one giving the least consideration to the subject finds sufficient testimony within himself, telling, in language not to be mistaken, that he is in a state of opposition to God, and that he is not fully subserv-

ing the end of his creation. There is a strife within every man's breast which, more convincingly than any external testimony, carries the conviction of his being a depraved creature ; the accumulation of these evidences, by observation and experience, proving that this is a universal characteristic of humanity, as acknowledged by the wisest of mankind in all ages, however they may have accounted for the fact. Nor could they ever bring themselves to the conclusion that man's state was always so. Whatever philosophical sceptics may allege to the contrary, it is a dictate of sound reasoning, that the present distracted condition of humanity cannot have been its original or created state. It is also a conclusion no less irresistible, that man's fallen condition, with its concomitant evils, is somehow due to his own act. These conclusions are forced upon the mind by the knowledge of the character of the Creator still naturally possessed by man, and his hopes and longings after a better state.

Taking, then, into consideration the universality of the fact of man's present misery, and the sense of self-condemnation with which it is accompanied, the explanation given of it in the Mosaic history is not only sufficient to account for it, but is also in the strictest harmony with philosophical principles. There are, no doubt, numerous perplexities, owing partly to the nature of the subject itself, and partly to the brevity of the narrative, which allows the reader only glimpses into the unseen and spiritual world, with the influences thereby exercised on the history of man,—a reserve which, it may be presumed, was owing to various considerations necessary at the time when this narrative was written.

It deserves, however, special remark, that some of the particulars indicated in this narrative as resulting from man's fall, or otherwise connected with it, are remarkably verified by the observations of science in other departments than the purely moral. The effects of the fall, in a physical aspect, both as regards the creature represented as the instrument of the temptation, and also the subjects of that hostile attack, are set forth in the one case by the degradation of the serpent,—a creature to which naturalists point as their most striking type of a reverse in the order of being and degradation in the

animal kingdom,¹ and in the other by the thorns and thistles which the earth was condemned to produce, in order to aggravate man's labour in tilling the ground ; and which are no less regarded by naturalists as tokens of deterioration in the vegetable world.² But it is in the condemnatory sentences passed upon the man and woman, the parents and representatives of the human race, that there is found the most remarkable confirmation from observation and experience. The man, though constituted lord of creation, was doomed to laborious toil, and forced, by the very necessities of his case, to procure from the reluctant ground the means of subsistence ; and it is seen that he is the only creature so situated ; while observation also clearly shows that it is only through cheerful submission to the stern discipline thus imposed upon him that he ever succeeds in raising himself in the social scale. The case of the woman is even more striking.³ The special punishment awarded to her, both as a wife and a mother, has been even more remarkably perpetuated in her daughters ; and, as has been long remarked by careful observers of natural phenomena, it is, as regards the latter particular especially, peculiar to woman, no other creature being subjected to such pangs during pregnancy, or in parturition. And it is also observable, that in proportion as the sentence of toil, common to the race, is in any instance mitigated in favour of the female, her own peculiar sentence is only thereby aggravated.

2. *Tokens of Man's Recovery.* The Mosaic narrative of man's fall contains a promise of his restoration and recovery, the first indeed of that series of announcements which give to the Sacred Scriptures their distinctive character as a revelation of redemption. There are numerous facts in nature and providence confirmatory of the Divine purpose first announced in connection with the fall. The preservation of the race, notwithstanding many physical and social revolutions, and what is more, its constantly increasing numbers, notwithstanding, too, the diseases and disasters to which above every other creature man is a prey, arising from feuds and wars between him and his fellows—circumstances which have led to the

¹ Miller, *Footprints of the Creator*, p. 157.

² Balfour, *Phyto-Theology*, pp. 110, 111. Edin. 1851.

³ Redford, *Holy Scripture Verified*, pp. 66, 67. Lond. 1853.

extirpation of whole tribes and nations,—are general earnestness of the realization of the purpose announced at man's creation, of his being destined to replenish the earth. The progress of the race in knowledge and civilization, the removal one after another of those barriers, natural and political, which severed and dissociated one portion of the race from another, with various other circumstances arising from the continually increasing facilities of locomotion and interchange of thought, all give evidence of man's future destiny as connected even with the earth, and are the progressive fulfilment of the prophecies contained in the history of creation.

But more deserving of notice in this connection, as illustrating the fact of the subjugation of the earth, (the other part of the work assigned to man at his creation,) and which was rendered much more arduous by the curse pronounced upon the ground after the fall, are those wonderful appliances of human skill which in the form of mechanical powers lighten every department of manual labour; and the equally wonderful combinations of chemistry which directly impart fertility to the soil. These discoveries in the arts and sciences, which thus minister so largely to the wants of man, give abundant promise of the removal of the primal curse, both in its physical and moral bearing. Physically, they are directly operating to that end; and though indirectly, no less morally, for here as in other matters the physical is a type of the moral, so that everything which ameliorates the condition of man in any way as a fallen creature, is a pledge of a better and blessed future. This is distinctly marked in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, who in describing the blessedness of the future, borrowed all their imagery from the natural world, for so strong in their view was the analogy between the natural and the spiritual, that the latter could not be better described than in terms directly taken from the former.

§ 2. *The Flood—the original Seat and the Dispersion of the post-diluvian Nations.*

Passing over the longevity ascribed to the men of the early world, and the introduction of death through sin, as points on which physiological studies can throw no light, as they ob-

viously involve more than merely natural causes, the next important particulars in which the history of Genesis comes into contact with facts otherwise ascertained are those which respect the Noachian deluge, and the subsequent re-peopling of the earth. It will, accordingly, be necessary to consider the nature of the evidence bearing on these points respectively: for such is their connexion in the narrative that although the evidence confirmatory of the statements relative to the dispersion of mankind after the flood may not at all apply to that event itself, yet it will be found indirectly to corroborate it.

i. THE NOACHIAN DELUGE. The first question to be considered in connexion with the flood is, Are there traces of its action discernable on the earth's surface, so as to furnish any testimony corroborative of the Biblical narrative?

With respect to this, it is of importance to notice that whatever may have been the extent of the flood, it was certainly of a comparatively tranquil character. This appears from various incidents in the narrative, as the gradual rise of the waters during the forty days rain, and their still more gradual subsidence—the floating of the ark with its precious cargo—"the ark went upon the face of the waters," (Gen. vii. 18,) terms certainly not indicating violent tumultuous agitation, but above all, the fact that vegetation, to some extent at least, survived, as proved by the newly plucked olive-leaf. It need not, therefore, be supposed that this cataclysm was such as would leave lasting impressions on the earth's surface, or at least what could with certainty be distinguished by geological observers from those made by other inundations of far greater violence and duration, of which there are unmistakable evidences on almost every part of the earth's surface, and which, before the circumstance was fully investigated, were usually referred to as proofs of the Noachian deluge. No doubt the friends of revelation were naturally disappointed when these proofs were disputed and finally given up by all competent to form a judgment in the case; but it is generally felt that it may with the utmost safety be admitted that, amid the many convulsions of which the earth was the subject, even down to a recent period in its history, as shown by its repeatedly submerged strata, it is impossible at present with

any certainty to point to any unequivocal traces of this last and historical deluge.

But if, as regards any actual proof of such a catastrophe, geology may be said to be utterly silent, its testimony in another respect is important. It proves that the supposition of a deluge involves no natural impossibility, by showing not only that any region, however elevated, may by subsidence be submerged under the waters of the ocean, but that, as a fact, the loftiest mountain peaks have been actually submerged. Science thus completely refutes the objections formerly brought against the idea of a deluge, from the want of sufficient water to reach the summit of the mountains. Ocean must be heaped upon ocean, it was wont to be alleged, to produce that result; whereas it is now seen that it depends not on any augmentation of the mass of water, but on a change in its distribution through the subsidence of the land.¹ All this, however, is only on the assumption that the Deluge was of a local character, a point to be presently considered.

There are, however, other difficulties of a scientific character which attend this subject, when first looked at in the light in which the Mosaic narrative presents it, but which greatly yield on a more careful consideration. Far more inexplicable than any difficulty connected with the increased volume of water required for a universal deluge, are such considerations as the capacity of the ark to contain pairs at least of all the different species of the living creatures of the air and the dry land; and in many cases they were admitted by *sevens*: the congregating together in one place, and for so long a period—about a year—the tenants, carnivorous and graminivorous, of the extreme zones, and their subsequent dispersion to their appropriate climates, from the equator to the poles. Some of these difficulties were felt at an early period, when there was comparatively little known of the extent of the animal creation, the number of distinct species of which it consists, and the laws which govern their migratory and other instincts. But it is the greatly enlarged acquaintance of recent years with such matters that has given to these difficulties a truly formidable aspect, and has accordingly rendered utterly untenable certain positions once assumed in

¹ King, *Religion and Geology*, p. 64. Edin. 1850.

connexion with this subject, for the difficulties on the old and usual views of a universal deluge only multiply the longer they are considered.¹

These and other considerations connected with the idea of a universal deluge induced many Biblical expositors, long before geological and other discoveries were brought to bear upon the subject, to believe that it was of limited extent, notwithstanding the general terms in which it is described.² This they held to be strictly in accordance with a principle of interpretation fairly deduced from the usage of Scripture itself, that general terms are frequently employed in a limited sense. This view has been since largely adopted. The terms employed in this narrative certainly give it the appearance of a universal catastrophe, both as regards its extent and the destruction of animal life: "All the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered;" "and all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth;" and still more expressly in the verses which follow, and in terms than which nothing could more strongly express the utmost totality. Nevertheless, they are not more decisive, it must be noted, than equally general terms used in other cases, where they must certainly be taken in a limited though wide extent. To notice only passages in the Pentateuch itself, although the New Testament supplies even stronger examples; (comp. Gen. xli. 56, 57; Ex. ix. 6, 10, 19-22, 25; x. 5, 15; Deut. ii. 25). The last passage, in particular, makes use of the terms, "The nations that are under the whole heaven," in respect only of the nations of Canaan, and those lying upon its frontier, all situated within a small geographical district, and certainly not in the wide acceptation which the expression literally implies.³

It is unquestionably taught in this narrative, and is assumed throughout the subsequent history, and is also noticed in the New Testament, that with the sole exception of the family of Noah, saved in the ark, the deluge swept away the

¹ Miller, *Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 335-339.

² Stillingfleet: "I cannot see any urgent necessity from the Scripture to assert, that the flood did spread itself

over all the surface of the earth."—*Origines Sacrae* (1622), B. iii., ch. 4, vol. ii., p. 143. Oxf. 1836

³ Pye Smith, *Scripture and Geology*, p. 269, 5th ed. Lond. 1855.

whole human race. But for effecting this there was no necessity that it should extend much beyond the portion of the earth's surface then inhabited by man. This, there is every reason to believe, was a comparatively limited tract, confined probably to western and central Asia. For the ideas sometimes advanced as to the numbers and geographical extent of the antediluvian population—some writers estimating it as not much less than the present population of the globe—there is no evidence whatever. If anything can be established where the data are so defective, and all the conditions so different from those which at present govern the increase of population, it is the probability that the number was small, and not widely dispersed. If there be anything indicated in the Biblical record more clearly than another touching this subject, it is, that man in those primeval ages had a natural aversion to migrate to a distance from his birth-place. It was under a sentence of banishment that Cain removed from the precincts of Eden; and, after the flood, it required a miraculous interposition to thwart a scheme, the design of which was to ensure centralization, and so to disperse the projectors abroad on the face of the earth.

If it be allowable to interpret the narrative of the deluge as intimating only a local inundation, co-extensive, indeed, with the geographical bounds of the human race, which it was expressly designed to destroy, all the difficulties which surround the subject at once disappear. There is nothing in the terms employed which necessarily exclude such an interpretation; while, on the other hand, it derives considerable support from observations of the Divine procedure in analogous circumstances. In addition to the difficulties already adverted to, the assumption of a local deluge completely obviates any objections against the Mosaic chronology as to the date of the catastrophe, deducible from certain facts observable in various parts of the earth, as the accumulations in craters of extinct volcanoes, particularly in France,¹ and certain ancient trees growing in Africa and elsewhere,²—the circumstances connected with which, in the opinion of such as have considered the matter, incontrovertibly prove that

¹ Pye Smith, *Scripture and Geology*, p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 408-415.

those localities could not have been subjected to any inundation for a long time prior to the historical era.

ii. THE DISPERSION OF THE POST-DILUVIAN NATIONS.—But if the testimony of science with regard to the fact of the deluge itself may be thus held to be neutral, owing to the impossibility of identifying any of the various indications of diluvial action on the earth's surface with the Noachian cataclysm, there are abundant scientific corroborations of some of the particulars connected with the first settlement and the dispersion of the Noahidæ, with which is closely connected in the narrative the judgment by which the rest of mankind was destroyed. These are the origination of the different nations from the three sons of Noah—a question closely related to that of the original unity of the race—and the cause which led to their dispersion over the earth as distinct nationalities.

All the lines of investigation, ethnographic and historical, conduct the scientific inquirer who is in search of the earlier settlements of mankind to the neighbourhood of the world-renowned rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. If there be any truth in the Biblical account of the deluge, there is obviously no independent historical monuments, save, it may be, traditionary, which can carry the inquirer beyond that limit, so as to ascertain with any certainty the cradle of the human race in Eden. Even as to the second point of departure, much that belongs to the earliest period must be traditionary; but here various other memorials are also available in tracing back the course of history. One of the most considerable elements in this case is language, which, notwithstanding the seemingly interminable diversities by which it is at present distinguished, is proved to have been originally one, pointing to a time when, as stated in the Biblical narrative, "the earth was of one language and of one speech," (Gen. xi. 1).

The conclusion arrived at with respect to the diversity of languages, and which is the result of a most careful and comprehensive examination by learned philologists into the various and sometimes scarcely appreciable affinities of what at first sight presents only variety, dissimilarity, and confusion, has been already adverted to in proof of the specific unity of the race; but it is of so much importance in connexion with the

subject now under consideration, that it deserves to be more fully examined. In this investigation two points have to be determined: first, "that as each class of languages is marked by affinities with other classes, and these affinities bear no trace of being descended lineally from each other, but to be independent branches from a common root or stock, the conclusion is naturally and necessarily drawn, that at one period there existed only that one form of language which has communicated these common elements to all, and which so identify and concentrate them as to make it next to impossible that they should have had independent and original formations of their own. The differences are not great enough to necessitate independent originations, and the resemblances are too striking to comport with any theory but that of a common source."¹ But, secondly, on the supposition of one primeval tongue, it becomes a difficult problem on any natural ground to account for the great diversity of languages now existing, and the problem is rendered even more difficult by the consideration that this reaches back to the remotest times of which history takes cognizance. In short, it might be shewn that nothing less than the introduction of some disturbing element of an unusual character, some miraculous interposition, can satisfactorily account for the facts of the case. It is easy to conceive of a variety of second causes, the influence of climate and other local circumstances, the diversity of pursuits, of civilization and knowledge among different nations, which might greatly add to the confusion when once introduced, but it is quite another problem to discover any natural cause sufficient to disrupt the original unity; and even if any such could with reasonable probability be assigned in any circumstances, the diversities resulting could hardly have been so marked as they now appear. "Languages must, in that case, have been, at least, more obviously and closely cognate. In particular, there would not have been such radical grammatical diversities, nor such totally diverse terms for expressing the same thing; terms between which, after allowing full scope to the imaginations of philologists, no relations of resemblance can be discovered, and no fair genealogy of resembling sounds made out."²

¹ Redford, *Scripture Verified*, p. 116.

² *Ibid*, p. 124.

If, therefore, it is exceedingly improbable that under ordinary circumstances, and during any length of time, there could have sprung up such diversity of languages from one primeval tongue, which is itself a fact established on other grounds—the matter is even rendered impossible when the period of the operation of these influences is so reduced as it is by all authentic records. And so nothing is left but the alternative of admitting the cause of the confusion assigned by Moses, or referring it to some other extraordinary interposition. But of any such there is no knowledge, and no testimony whatever, while, on the contrary, the Mosaic explanation is confirmed by not a few ancient traditions to be adduced in the next section.

But even exclusive of the evidence of a Divine interposition, leading to the distribution of mankind into nationalities and races, and their dispersion over the earth, which is furnished in the diversity of their languages, the dispersion itself is of a character so complete, and in a manner unnatural, so opposed to taste, comfort, convenience and other matters, which may be supposed to direct the choice of individuals, that it could not have been altogether due to voluntary emigrations, but must have been forced upon the race by a more direct and pressing necessity than merely providing an outlet for the redundant population within the original settlements, or the mere love of adventure in the more enterprising spirits.

The Divine purpose respecting the colonization of the whole earth by man, was clearly expressed in the account of his creation, and the accuracy of that account is confirmed by the physical constitution bestowed upon him, admirably fitting him for inhabiting every clime, and supporting the extremes of heat and cold to a degree unapproached by any other creature; and yet, though thus fitted for colonization, many causes, it is but reasonable to suppose, would have contributed to induce the inhabitants of the renovated earth to confine themselves as much and as long as possible to their first settlements. There must have been some violent disruption of all such ties and tendencies, when within a comparatively short period after the flood, as appears from profane as well as sacred history, and before the increase of the population could have greatly influenced the matter, streams of colonists issued forth in every

direction from Mesopotamia and Armenia, to found empires on the rivers of central Asia, and in the valley of the Nile. And what is more noticeable, these emigrants did not issue forth in straggling hordes, or weak and scattered bands, but in such numbers and order that regular constitutions and government speedily sprung up in their new abodes; a special instance of which is presented in the case of Egypt.

The account of the attempted erection of a tower in the plain of Shinar, with the confusion of speech which interrupted the undertaking, and necessitated the dispersion of the parties engaged in it, fully comports with these conclusions. This rallying point of mankind, which the structure was intended to secure, indicated the strong tendency for aggregation so entirely opposed to that dispersion necessary for carrying out the ends of man's creation, while the means adapted by Providence for counteracting this natural desire of centralization was, it might easily be shown, one of the most effectual for the accomplishment of the purpose contemplated. This satisfactorily accounts for the dispersion, and partly for its associated estrangement of disposition which marks the various races; indeed, for the dispersion itself no other adequate cause can be assigned.

Further, the genealogical table of the nations in Gen. x., which is admitted by all competent to form an opinion on the subject to be a most wonderful ethnographic record, is obtaining many fresh elucidations and confirmations of its accuracy from recent discoveries. It was long ago remarked by Sir William Jones, that "it is no longer probable only, but it is absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from Iran as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in *three great colonies*; and that these three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe."¹ This subject has been still further prosecuted by subsequent inquirers with the same results, and these deduced from more minute and extended information than was accessible to the eminent orientalist referred to. So far, at least, as the three older continents of the earth are concerned, there is little hesitation

¹ Works, by Teignmouth, vol. iii. p. 196. Lond., 1807.

among ethnographers in assigning the principal nations to their respective ancestral stems, represented by the names of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the three sons of Noah, and in determining the various ramifications of what appears at first sight an inextricable maze. The same is also to a considerable extent true of the nations of America, although some doubts are entertained as to the particular branch, or as some think, branches, to which they belong. Their connexion with the older world is, however, notwithstanding these doubts, clearly established.¹

Putting all these circumstances together, there is obtained a result in respect to the early settlement of mankind, and their descent and subsequent dispersion, so strongly corroborated by everything that has hitherto come to light through the varied investigations of modern times into ethnographic and philological relations, and the bearing of which, at the period when the Biblical statements were written, or even long afterwards, it was utterly impossible that the clearest human sagacity could have foreseen; and yet it is as impossible that these statements could have been made at random, or without sufficient and accurate information, for otherwise they must have been long since falsified in many particulars. It only remains, in these circumstances, to ascribe the information thus manifested to a supernatural source; indeed, in no other way can it be satisfactorily accounted for.

² Bunsen:—"As far as the organic languages of Asia and Europe are concerned, the human race is of one kindred, of one descent." "Our historical researches respecting language have led us to facts which seemed to oblige us to assume the common historical origin of the great families into which

we found the nations of Asia and Europe to coalesce." "The Asiatic origin of all these (American) tribes is as fully proved as the unity of family among themselves."—*Phil. of Univ. Hist.*, vol. ii, pp. 4, 99, 112. Lond. 1845.

SECT. II.—THE PENTATEUCH AS RELATED TO TRADITION AND PROFANE HISTORY.

Faber, *Credibility of the Pentateuch as a portion of authentic history*; *Heathen Cosmogonies*; *Pagan Accounts*, &c. *Horæ Mosaicæ*, vol. i. Lond. 1818.
Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*: Lect. ii. pp. 36-78, Lond. 1859.

History, properly so called, or as recorded in books apart from the Bible, is long subsequent to the latest event recorded in the Pentateuch;¹ yet so far as any memorial of the incidents and transactions of those remote ages has been preserved in tradition, or inscribed on more durable monuments, it serves, so far as it bears upon the subject, to confirm the accuracy of the Mosaic statements. The absence, indeed, of fuller confirmation, owing to the circumstance of the paucity of authentic information in some cases, and the total want of it in others, is itself a kind of negative testimony in favour of the Pentateuch, and of its unapproached antiquity. But if there be little contemporaneous evidence of any kind by which the Mosaic history can be either confronted or confirmed, it follows that the greater must be the value ascribed to that very unique record itself, if on examination its credibility be satisfactorily established.

In considering the character and amount of confirmation which the history of the Pentateuch may be expected to receive from any foreign quarter, the peculiarity of the subject must be taken into account. Anything deducible from general traditions and popular usages must be necessarily limited to the period comprised in Gen. i.-xi., as the subsequent Biblical history is, in the first place, chiefly that of individuals, who, whatever may have been their position from the historian's point of view, played no such important part in the great political drama of the times as to make their names or actions a matter to be universally remembered; and next of

¹ Bunsen, after remarking that the sacred books of the Egyptians did not contain any history of that nation, adds: "The idea of a people did not exist—still less that of a people of God, the Creator of the heavens and the

earth. History was born in that night when Moses, with the law of God, moral and spiritual, in his heart, led the people of Israel out of Egypt."—*Egypt's Place*, vol. i., 23.

the Israelites, a people shut out from the nations of the earth, except as regards the transactions of the Exodus. The monumental evidences, again, so far as they go, apply only to later times, and in a great measure posterior to the Pentateuch. Egypt, indeed, furnishes important contributions to the present subject, beginning with the visit of Abraham to that land, but chiefly in connexion with the history of Joseph, and afterwards of Moses. The elucidation and confirmation of Scripture, drawn, on the other hand, from the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, recently brought to light, belong much more to the later historical and prophetical writings than to the Pentateuch, which was composed long before either of those monarchies attained to the distinguished place which they afterwards occupied in the world's history.

§ 1. *Traditions and Popular Usages bearing on the Early History.*

Of the traditions connected with the early state of mankind, as described in the Bible, the number is immense, and no less varied, as might be supposed, considering the different channels through which they have passed. Yet such is their essential agreement, even when circumstantially most divergent, that they must necessarily have sprung from a common source; nor is it difficult to determine, in various instances, the influences by which they were so differently modified, as to make their identification at first a matter of dubiety. From the vast accumulation of materials, only one or two particulars can be here selected for examination.

1. THE MOSAIC NARRATIVE OF THE FALL.—The cosmogonical notions prevalent amongst several early nations, as preserved in the pages of the poets and historians of antiquity, though variously modified by local and mythological influences, present, on closer scrutiny, very much of a common resemblance, and in some of their features a remarkable accordance with the Mosaic narrative of the creation. To notice only what bears on the case of man.

The primeval state of man is, by all tradition and mythology, allowed to have been one of happiness, purity, and immortality; and no less remarkable is the unanimity as to

the cause of his present miserable condition. The original state of innocence and bliss the Greek and Roman poets characterised as "the golden age," in which both disease and death were altogether unknown; the earth meanwhile brought forth spontaneously sufficient for all man's wants, without the necessity of his having recourse to the labour and toil afterwards needed to extract a scanty subsistence from the ground.¹ The same also in the Eastern traditions, with the important addition that man's original residence was a garden, specially created and prepared for him, and entrusted to his keeping by Ormuzd.²

The state of blessedness, however, was but of short duration. A criminal curiosity, on the part of the woman whom the Deity granted to man, leading her to pry into that which was concealed,³ or an impious snatching by man himself at that which was forbidden,⁴ first wrought the ruin of the human race, which, notwithstanding many warnings, continued to degenerate in morals, until the gods, wearied with forbearing, sent a flood to destroy the guilty. Some traditions even specify the particular act in which man's disasters originated, and the agent through which it was produced. According to the Persian legends in the *Zendavesta*, it was the eating of a sweet herb, "schima," that led to the change; whence arose shame, and the necessity of clothing. But it is of special importance to remark, when comparing these ideas with the Biblical history, that amid much that is confused, and in part, no doubt, contradictory, these traditions almost invariably represent woman or the serpent as contributing to man's present wretched condition; the serpent, in particular, has been always regarded as representing the principle of evil, and the author of man's ruin. Indeed, there is evidence to shew that it must have been some confused notions of this kind which gave rise among many ancient nations to serpent-worship—a practice which at first sight may seem to be in opposition to this view, but on closer examination only confirms it; for here, as in many other

¹ Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 90, &c. Ovid, *Met.* i. 89, &c.

³ Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 83, &c. *Theog.* 583, &c.

² *Zeitschrift d. Deut. Morgen. Gesellschaft*, iv. 421. Leip. 1850.

⁴ Hor. *Carm.*, i. 3, 25.

instances, it was originally a device to propitiate the evil principle, and to deprecate its wrath; while, on the other hand, this practice goes far to prove that the part assigned to the serpent in the introduction of evil did not arise, as sometimes alleged, from the feelings of antipathy with which, as by an instinct, mankind regarded that reptile.

But it is of no less importance to add that the anticipated recovery of primeval blessedness to which the human mind under the greatest darkness and disorder ever tenaciously clung, as is proved from those very traditions in which it forms a constant element, is usually represented as a victory over the serpent, issuing in its death or the removal of its poisonous properties. Further, this victory was to be achieved for mortals by one who should occupy some intimate relation to the Deity, being in many traditions represented in fact as his son, or more generally, in numerous legends, both of the West and the East, and even of the Scandinavian North, as a special gift of the gods to men. In many of the religions of the East, the extirpation of serpents was strictly enjoined; by the Persians it was viewed as war against Ahriman.¹

2. THE ANTEDILUVIAN PERIOD. Various incidents ascribed by the Bible to this period find some parallel in heathen tradition. Thus the traditionary tales of the Phœnicians regarding the enmity of the brothers Hypsuranios and Uson, are unquestionably a reminiscence of the events in the case of Cain and Abel, found also among other nations to this day, in the central parts of Eastern Asia. Among one of these, the Ishudes, who inhabit a metallic mountain there, is found an inverted history of Cain; mention is made of the enmity between the brothers, but all the circumstances are set forth in a light favourable to Cain. The elder brother, it is said, acquired wealth by gold and silver mines, but the envy of the younger led to the other's taking refuge in the east.² The same also as to the notices of the origin and the practice of the arts by the Cainites. In the Phœnician traditions, the invention of agriculture, metallurgy and other arts is ascribed to the first men; and the Egyptian traditions place the origin of music and metallurgy in the reign of Osiris. On the

¹ Kalisch. Genesis. p. 125.

² Schlegel, Phil. of History, p. 95. Lond., 1847.

other hand, Seth and his descendants, who occupy also a prominent place in tradition, sustain an entirely different character from that of the Cainites. "In general," as Schlegel observes, "the first ten holy Progenitors, or Patriarchs, of the primitive world, are mentioned under different names in the Sagas, not only of the Indians, but of several other Asiatic nations, though undoubtedly with important variations, and not without much poetical colouring. But as in these traditions we can clearly discern the same general traits of history, this diversity of representation serves only to corroborate the main truth, and to illustrate it more fully and forcibly."¹

In addition to the numerous intimations of an opposition in character which, from the earliest times, divided the human race into two great divisions, carrying on with one another a hostile struggle which, as Schlegel also remarks, "forms the whole tenor of primitive history," there are other incidental notices which deserve consideration. Of these may be mentioned the traditions which ascribe a gigantic stature to the men of the early world, and a longevity far exceeding what is the present lot of mankind, and which was gradually reduced to what it now is.² With regard to the longevity of the primeval generations, the testimonies are numerous. Josephus, after adducing the Mosaic statements on the subject, adds, "I have for witnesses to what I have said, all who have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean monuments, and Mochus and Hestæus, and besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phœnician history, assent to what I here say: Hesiod, also, and Hecatæus, Hellanicus and Acusilaus; and besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years."³

To the translation of Enoch, there is evidently allusion in the old Phrygian tale of Annakos, or Nannakos, who lived before the time of Deucalion, and whose death, it was foretold, should be followed by the flood. With this, Buttman⁴ compares also the Greek stories of Æacus, so renowned for his justice

¹ Phil. of History, p. 97.

² Antiq., i. 3, § 9.

³ Hor. Carm., i. 3, 32.

⁴ Mythologus, vol. i., pp. 176-178.

and piety that, according to some accounts,¹ he became after his death one of the three judges in Hades ; while according to others, he dwells in the Elysian fields, having, on account of his piety, escaped the Stygian waves.² These tales, notwithstanding their somewhat varying character, are evidently founded on the event recorded in the Bible, which must have made a deep impression on Enoch's contemporaries.

iii. THE NOACHIAN DELUGE. The traditions bearing on this subject are more numerous and striking than those relating to any other incident of the early world. The reason of this, obviously, is not so much the more recent occurrence of that catastrophe, as that it was in itself fitted to make a more sensible impression upon the survivors. It will be utterly impossible to adduce particulars in regard to a subject such as this, on which large volumes have been written, and it must therefore suffice to refer to the works of Bryant, Faber, and Harcourt, for evidence to prove that traditions of a deluge, bearing more or less resemblance to the Noachian, have been found among all nations: among the aborigines of the American continent no less than among the inhabitants of the older hemisphere, who were locally nearer to the scene of the cataclysm and the earliest seat of the restored race.³

It may be remarked, however, that in these varied traditions, the country and the most prominent mountain of the respective nations are made the principal scenes in the inundation, and in the preservation of the remnant of the race. This transference is exceedingly natural, and is partly, at least, to be accounted for from the fact that the early emigrations into their subsequent settlements were forgotten by those nations, and that by some association or other, they were led to regard their own localities as the place of their origin. In this respect the universality of the traditions proves nothing, although it is sometimes so put, as to the universality of the deluge itself ; but it proves incontestably, two other important points. First, it shows that, as Scripture affirms, there

¹ Ovid. Met., xiii. 25; Hor. Carm., ii. 13, 22.

² Hor. Carm., iv. 8, 25.

³ Lepsius and Bunsen maintain that there is no trace of Noah, or the del-

uge, in the hieroglyphic legends of Egypt, but Osburn declares that this is a complete mistake.—Monumental Hist. of Egypt, vol. i., p. 239. Lond., 1854.

was a flood which destroyed all the human inhabitants of the earth, with the exception of one family. And secondly, it proves, in further conformity with Scripture, that all the existing tribes and nations of the earth have sprung from that one family which survived the flood. "Ere the dispersal of the family it would have, of course, existed as but one unique recollection,—a single reflection on the face of an unbroken mirror. But the mirror has since been shattered into a thousand pieces: and we now find the object, originally but one, pictured in each broken fragment, with various degrees of distinctness, according to the various degrees of injury received by the reflecting medium."¹ These traditions, variously modified, have certainly so much in common, as fully warrants the conclusion that they were originally one.

But while, for the reason assigned, or other conceivable causes, all these traditions vary, particularly as to the locality of the flood, each nation connecting it with their own country, the place prominently assigned to it in the Bible, the neighbourhood of Ararat, deserves the more consideration, as in this and the other geographical particulars, such as the situation of Eden, the Hebrew writer, it is clear, is under no such influences as are visible in the heathen traditions. The Israelites "had no local, but only family attachments—and hence, while every other tradition makes the ark rest upon some high mountain in the land where that tradition reigns, the Hebrew account assigns the ark to a mountain far away from any land with which that people were connected, and which is not at all probable that any of them in the time of Moses ever beheld."² This itself affords no inconsiderable support to the greater correctness of the Hebrew tradition, supposing it had no higher source than the others; but it assumes much more importance when the circumstances connected with the locality thus assigned as the resting place of the ark are considered, chiefly the fact already noticed, that the various lines of investigation, historical and ethnographical, converge in the neighbourhood of Ararat as to a common centre, taking the term Ararat as elsewhere used in Scripture, (2 Kings, xix. 37;

¹ Miller, *Testimony of the Rocks*,
p. 282.

² Kitto, *Bible Illustrations*, i. 165,
Edin., 1850.

Isa. xxxvii. 38; Jer. li. 27,) to designate Armenia, as it is indeed here rendered by several ancient versions, as the Vulgate, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. The historian, however, by no means intimates that the ark rested on the particular mountain now known by the name of Ararat, for the phraseology is general, "on, (or *over*;) the mountains of Ararat," (Gen. viii. 4); just as the expressions, "the mountains of Israel," or, "the mountains of Samaria," denote the mountainous districts of those countries. Nor does he expressly state that the structure permanently grounded on the summit of any mountain whatever; indeed, the contrary is obviously implied; for not until two months and thirteen days afterwards were the tops of the mountains visible, from the ark continually reaching a lower level with the subsiding waters, (ver. 5).¹

There are, moreover, in the varied and wide-spread traditions of a deluge, so many references to the ark, and to the preservation in it, as well of animals as of men, and also to the raven and the dove, that it is utterly impossible that they can have originated from different catastrophes, or indeed, in any other than the Noachian flood as recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures. "There is scarcely a single feature in the Biblical account which is not discovered in one or several of the heathen traditions. And the coincidences are not limited to desultory details; they extend to the whole outlines, and the very tenor and spirit of the narrative; it is almost everywhere the sin of man which renders the determination of the all-just Judge irrevocable; one pious man is saved, with his family, to form the nucleus of a new population; an ark is introduced, and pairs of the whole animal creation are collected; birds are sent out to ascertain the condition of the earth; an altar is built, and sacrifices are offered. And yet it is certain that none of these accounts are derived from the pages of the Bible; they are independent of each other; their differences are as striking and characteristic as their analogies; they are echoes of a sound which had long vanished away. It would be miraculous to suppose that such a remarkable concurrence is

¹ Kitto's Cyc. Bib. Lit. art *Ararat*, i. 200. Olmstead, *Noah and his Times*, p. 189. Glasgow.

accidental ; the legends of the Chaldeans and the Mosaic narrative, bear not only a family likeness, but they have the very appearance of twins. There must indisputably have been a common basis, a universal source. And this source is the general tradition of primitive generations. The harmony between all these accounts is an undeniable guarantee that the tradition is no idle invention ; a fiction is individual, not universal ; that tradition has, therefore, a historical foundation ; it is the result of an event which really happened in the ages of the childhood of mankind ; it was altered, adorned, and it may be, magnified, by the dissemination ; it was tintured with a specifically national colouring by the different nations ; it borrowed some characteristic traits from every country in which it was diffused ; it assumed the reflex of the various religious systems ; but though the features were modified, the general character was indestructible, and remained strikingly visible.”¹

Besides these general traditions, there are other attestations of the same fact—a commemoration of it in names, usages and structures, and indeed, in the whole system of heathen idolatry. The prominent features in the life and character of Noah are incorporated in the history and attributes of many of the heathen deities. The very name of the patriarch was for a long time preserved among the heathen in nearly its original form. Thus the Apamæan medal struck in the reign of the elder Philip represents a square vessel floating in the water, and having in it a man and a woman, and before it another man and woman, who seem to have quitted it and reached the dry land, probably the former pair in a different act. On the top of the vessel is perched a bird, and opposite to it is another, bearing a branch with which it flies towards the ark. Any doubt as to the purport of this representation is removed by the inscription on the ark, and below the persons inclosed in it the word ΝΩΕ, the very name of Noah in its Greek form, as it occurs in the New Testament. The medal was struck at Apamea in Phrygia, a city formerly called Kibotos, or, “the ark ;” and it is well known that anciently the coins of cities exhibited some leading point in

¹ Kalisch, Com. on Genesis, p. 205.

their mythological history. If it be difficult to discern on the earth's surface marks of the Noachian deluge, there is abundant evidence of the impression it left on the human memory, in the traditions, superstitions, monuments and usages of nations widely separated from one another, and presenting externally few signs of connexion.

§ 2. *Confirmation from Historical Monuments.*

The observations to be adduced under this head will refer to the following particulars:—the Genealogical Table of Nations, the origin of the Babylonian and Assyrian powers, and more particularly the history of Egypt, with which in the time of Moses the Israelites were so closely connected.

i. THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF NATIONS.—It is admitted on all hands that this is a most remarkable document;¹ and the disposition of rationalists in general is not so much to dispute its credibility as to assign its composition to a much later period than the Mosaic age, and to maintain that much of the information here contained must have been derived from the Phœnicians, whose commercial enterprises extended to most of the countries enumerated.² There is, however, irrespective of other considerations, sufficient evidence in the document itself, which fully disproves these assumptions.

In proof of its antiquity there are the following particulars:—1. The boundaries of the Canaanites—"As thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha" (Gen. x. 19). This description plainly points to a time when these cities were still standing. 2. The mention of Sidon and the omission of Tyre, which first occurs in Josh. xix. 29, and is in Isa. xxiii. 12, styled, "Daughter of Sidon," "because it was a colony of the older city,"³ which, even in the time of Joshua, was called Tsidon-Rabba, or Great Sidon (Josh. xix. 28). In later authors, on the contrary, Tyre is always named first,—Tyre and Sidon,—the younger having

¹ The latest testimony to the importance of this list is that of Sir H. Rawlinson: "The Toldeth Beni Noah is undoubtedly the most authentic record we possess for the affiliation of those branches of the human race which

sprung from the triple stock of the Noachidæ.—*Jour. of Asiatic Society*, xv. 230.

² Knobel, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, pp. 4-6. Giessen. 1850.

³ Justin. xviii. 3.

outstripped the older city in importance.¹ 3. The connexion of Gomer and Magog, ver. 2, comp. with Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix. In the earlier passage Magog is a real national name; in Ezekiel it is simply an ideal people, the symbol of the heathen power in conflict with the kingdom of God, an idea still further carried out in Rev. xx. 8, by making what is in Ezekiel as Gog, the prince of Magog, two nations, Gog and Magog. Just as the Apocalypse presupposes the passage in Ezekiel, so that again presupposes the passage in Genesis.

Whatever contributes to establish the Mosaic authorship of this composition at the same time disproves the supposition of the materials having been derived from the Phœnicians, or indeed from any other foreign source. And this will be more evident, from a consideration of the character of the document, as distinguished from every other historical monument with which it may be compared. The learning of modern times has deciphered several monuments of this kind; but, however valuable they may be for the elucidation of various historical and geographical questions, they are of an order entirely different from the Table in Genesis. The oldest of these is the list of nations on the walls of Karnak, in Thebes, being a record of the conquests of the Egyptian monarch Rameses. So also the inscriptions on the ruins of Persepolis, and the more recently discovered monuments of Assyria and Babylon, enumerate the countries and people in alliance with, or in subjection to, these powers respectively, and at various times; but such lists, besides being of a very limited extent and recent date, as compared with this Mosaic record, are also of an entirely national character. These several lists indicate the geographical position and political relations of the people enumerated merely at the time when they were composed, and only for the glorification of the people, or the individual who caused the record to be made. The Table in Genesis, on the contrary, purports to settle the origin of all the nations of the earth (ver. 32), and with very many of whom the Israelites had no intercourse whatever.

¹ The earlier origin of Sidon has been disputed (Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog., Art. *Phœnicia*, vol. ii., p. 609); but, among other arguments in its favour is the fact, that Sidon takes precedence of Tyre in the early Egyptian lists; (Bunsen's Egypt, iii. 214; Rawlinson's Bamp. Lect., p. 385).

How few traces there are here of any national colouring, sometimes ascribed to it, appears from the fact, that while the usual enumeration of the sons of Noah, in the order Shem, Ham, and Japheth, would lead to the supposition that the first named, the ancestor of the Hebrews, was the eldest son of the Patriarch, it is here distinctly intimated that such was not really the case, but that Japheth was the eldest son, while Shem was probably the second; (comp. ch. ix. 29). The words, *אָהִי יֶפֶת הַגִּדּוֹל*, ver. 21, may, indeed, be rendered "Japheth's elder brother," as well as "the brother of Japheth, the elder;" but the latter is commended by the context, that the pre-eminence ascribed to Shem is merely the fact of his being "the father of all the sons of Eber," as contrasted with the words in chap. ix. 18: "Ham is the father of Canaan." Another material fact in proving the absence of anything like national prejudice is, that nations such as Asshur and Elam, who occupied a hostile relation to Israel, are represented as of the same stock with themselves. This also sufficiently confutes the idea that the descent of the Canaanites from Ham, represented as under a curse, was feigned, as sometimes alleged, as a pretext for their destruction by the Israelites. So far, in short, from containing any traces of that exclusiveness which is erroneously charged on the Old Testament, but which really belongs only to the perversion of its principles, whether in heathenism or Judaism, this genealogical Table of nations, no less than the other portions of the Pentateuch, fully exhibits that universalism which, avowed in the opening pages of Genesis by the creation of man, was repeated in the promises to Abraham when separated from the nations of the earth, and which shall be fully realized under the Gospel.

A striking characteristic of this genealogical table as compared with the legends of heathenism, respecting the origin of nations, is its entire freedom from all mythical elements. Every thing rests on the foundation of ordinary humanity—there is nothing of gods, demi-gods, or heroes. The founders of nations have nothing either in name or character, of that confused mixture of the divine and human, so prominent in the Indian and Greek ethnologies. The names in many instances are collective designations or patronymics, and in some, as in Mitzraim, Aram and Canaan, are appellations of

countries derived seemingly from their physical characteristics, still this is nothing of a mythical character, particularly when contrasted with such really mythical names as Ouranos, Gaea, Okeanos, and Kronos.¹ And it is no little confirmation of the truth of this record, that while there is nothing opposed to it in modern ethnology, heathen legends, when stripped of their embellishments, wonderfully harmonise with its statements. Thus, a tripartite division of the earth was a belief generally entertained from the earliest times—one portion of mankind colonising the northern plains of Asia, Europe and the Grecian Isles, a second settling about the Euphrates and the central portions of Asia, while a third took possession of a great part of the African continent—views fully confirmed by modern investigations into the languages and physiological peculiarities of the nations of the earth. Of course, through the admixture of races by alliance or conquests, and the changes of names, it may be impossible to identify all the nations here enumerated, and to trace their descent and mutual relations, yet there is little difficulty in following up the leading divisions. In this great progress has been made since the time of Bochart, who with great learning and diligence brought together all that was available on the subject in his day. And though, with regard to many points, there may be still nothing better than conjecture, it is worthy of note that every new discovery tends to confirm the accuracy of this document.

With regard to the descendants of Japheth, whose territories are designated אֲזַי הַיָּם, by which is meant the maritime lands of Asia Minor and Europe,² it is proved by philologists that all the European nations enumerated in this table are of Asiatic origin, and of one stock.³ Javan, who from the enumeration of four sons, (ver. 4,) must have been the founder of numerous and important septs, is held to be the ancestor of the Greeks. The name יָוֹ is identical with Ἰων, only the Hebrew is the older form, and from it only can be explained all the derivatives, as well Ἰάον, Ἰᾶνες, as Ἰων, Ἰωνες, Ἰωνία, &c. and in ancient writers is found Ἰάονες for Ἰωνες, which very closely resembles the Hebrew.⁴ But it was not only the name

¹ Knobel, Völkertafel, p. 10.

² Ibid, p. 17.

³ Knobel, Völkertafel, p. 21.

⁴ Ibid, p. 77.

Javan, as Ion, the ancestor of the Ionians, that was preserved in Greek tradition, that of Japheth also, the common ancestor of the first class of nations, is as distinctly indicated in Ἰαπετός, the son of Uranus and Ge, and brother of Kronos, Okeanos, &c. He married Asia, and was the father of Prometheus, and so was regarded by the Greeks as the ancestor of the human race. Indeed, the story of Iapetus is one of many examples of the transmutations through which the facts of primeval history passed; while it still retains, even in its more complex form, unmistakeable traces of its original ethnographic character. Their original relation to Asia had not been altogether forgotten, it appears from this legend, by the Japhetic nations of Europe, however much the idea became perverted in the lapse of ages.

Butmann, not only identifies Japheth with the Iapetus of the Greeks, but he also discovers Ham in Ammon or Hammon,¹ the chief deity of various nations of northern Africa, and one of whose chief seats of worship was Thebes, in upper Egypt, called therefore, Amon-No, (Jer. xlv. 25; Ezek. xxx. 15,) or No-Amon, (Nah. iii. 8). He is supposed to have represented the sun. But although there may be thus some resemblance between Amon, the etymological meaning of which is, according to Jablonski, "producing light,"² and Ham, as connected with the root חָמַם, *to be hot*, of the day, it is of too remote a character to justify the connexion contended for. But it is unnecessary to rely on any such doubtful assumptions, for there are indubitable traces of the name Ham in connexion with Egypt. Wilkinson³ identifies Khem, another of the Egyptian gods, with the Hebrew Ham. But however this may be, there are numerous references to Ham in connexion with Egypt.

Egypt, named in Hebrew Mitzraim, after the second son of Ham, is sometimes denominated after that patriarch himself, "the land of Ham" (Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 23, 27; cvi. 22); and it accords with this, that on the testimony of Plutarch the Egyptians named it in their own language Χημία. The Copts, in their books, never called it other than *Chamî*, or, in

¹ Mythologus, I., 224, 225.

² Pantheon Ægyptiorum, i. 166. Francf., 1750.

³ Anc. Egypt. iv. 261.

the dialect of Thebes, *Kame*.¹ And to the same purpose a statement of Jerome: "Ham a quo et Ægyptus usque hodie, Ægyptiorum lingua dicitur HAM." This is fully confirmed by the monuments, where "Chemi" is the constant designation of that country; and the city of Khem or Panopolis was called in Egyptian Chemmo, evident traces of which, as Wilkinson² remarks, are preserved in that of the modern town E'Khmim. The name Mitzraim, on the contrary, does not occur in hieroglyphics, though traced in the modern name Musr or Misr, by which both Cairo and Egypt are known at this day.³ However, the connexion with Ham is clearly marked, and it is to this, and not to so trivial a circumstance as the black colour of the soil, as stated by Plutarch,⁴ that the native name of Egypt is to be referred.

These reminiscences are of the more importance, because the Hamitic origin of the Egyptians is sometimes denied, and they are referred to the Shemitic stock, with which, indeed, in physiognomy and language they closely agree. This circumstance, however, so far from militating against the Mosaic statements, when duly considered only confirms them. The Egyptians themselves claimed to be the most ancient of mankind,⁵—a claim which is, however, disproved by the clearest evidence. "The inhabitants of the valley of the Nile were not the most ancient of mankind, they evidently derived their origin from Asia; and the parent stock, from which they were a very early offset, claim a higher antiquity in the history of the human race. Their skull shows them to have been of the Caucasian stock, and distinct from the African tribes westward of the Nile; and they are evidently related to the oldest races of Central Asia. The Egyptian language might, from its grammar, appear to claim a Semitic origin, but it is not really one of that family, like the Arabic, Hebrew, and others; nor is it one of the languages of the Sanscritic family, though it shows a primitive affinity to the Sanscrit in certain points; and this has been accounted for by the Egyptians being an offset from the early 'undivided Asiatic stock.' . . . Besides certain affinities with the Sanscrit, it has others with the

¹ Jablonski, *Pantheon*, i. 177.

⁴ De Isid. et Osir. c. 32.

² *Anc. Eg.* iv. 259.

⁵ Herodotus, II. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Celtic, and the languages of Africa.”¹ The Egyptians, indeed, may be said to be intermediate between the Syro-Arabian and the Ethiopic type. That Herodotus was mistaken in describing them as black-skinned and having woolly hair, is proved both by the monuments and the mummies: “The paintings pointedly distinguish the Egyptians from the blacks of Africa, and even from the copper-coloured Ethiopians, both of whom are shown to have been of the same hue as their descendants; but the mummies prove that the Egyptians were *neither black nor woolly-haired*, and the formation of the head at once decides that they are of Asiatic, and not of African origin.”²

These conclusions are in direct variance with the idea long entertained, but which is now shown, on other grounds, to be untenable, that the tide of population in the valley of the Nile issued from Ethiopia, but they fully accord with the Mosaic statements, particularly as to the distinction between the Cushites or Ethiopians and the Egyptians, and also with the original unity of mankind, and their first settlements in Asia. “It is probable that the Nile-valley contained three races, with an admixture of a fourth. On the eastern frontier the Arabian type prevailed: on the western the Lybian; while the fourth variety arose from intermarriages between the Egyptians Proper and the Nubians or Ethiopians of Merœ. The ruling caste, however, was an elder branch of the Syro-Arabian family, which, in two separate divisions, descended the Tigris and the Euphrates; and while the northern stream colonized the land of Canaan and the future empires of Babylon and Nineveh, the southern spread over Arabia Felix, and entered Egypt from the east. This supposition, and this alone, will account for the Caucasian type of the Coptic skull and facial outline, and corresponds with the Mosaic ethnology in the 10th chapter of Genesis, which derives the Egyptians from Ham.”³

Further confirmation of a connexion between the Egyptians and the Syro-Arabian stock may be found in the Mosaic statements regarding the Cushite nations descended from the

¹ Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, II. p. 279.

² Smith's Dict. of Geography, Art. *Ægyptus*, I. 38. Lond. 1856.

³ Ibid., p. 170.

eldest son of Ham, and which are in Scripture frequently referred to along with the Egyptians. "Cush is the name of Ethiopia, both in Scripture and in the hieroglyphics of the earliest periods, and was applied to that country lying above the second cataracts, inhabited, as at present, by a copper-coloured race."¹ But a comparison of the various passages of Scripture where the name occurs necessitates the conclusion that it was not limited to one locality, in opposition to Bochart, who held it was exclusively in Arabia, and to other authorities, who found it only in Africa. That Cush was the name of districts, both in Asia and Africa, was a view held by Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and others, although recently very strenuously opposed by Bunsen.² The question has, however, been since set at rest by the latest discoveries of Sir H. Rawlinson. The circumstance is explained in the genealogical Table, in a parenthetical notice regarding Nimrod, a son of Cush, and his seat of empire: "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land he went forth to Asshur, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth Ir, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; that is the great city" (Gen. x. 10-12). Leaving for after consideration some of the points here touched on, the connexion thus intimated between an African and Asiatic Ethiopian race is, as Wilkinson³ observes, "the more remarkable, as the same is noticed by profane writers: the *Ethiopian* Memnon was said to be a general of Teutamis, the twenty-first king of *Assyria* after Semiramis, and to have been sent with a force of 10,000 *Ethiopians*, and the same number of *Susans*, to assist Priam, when Troy was besieged; and the *Cushites* of Africa are also called *Ethiopians*." And still more

¹ Wilkinson, *An. Eg.* iv. 262.

² "The Bible mentions but one Kush, *Æthiopia*: an Asiatic Kush exists only in the imagination of the interpreters. . . . Nimrod was no more a Kushite by blood than Canaan was an Egyptian; but the Turanian tribe, represented by him, came as a devastating people, which had previously conquered that part of Africa, back into Asia, and there established the first great empire" (*Phil. of Univ. Hist.*, i. 191. Lond. 1854).

But Sir H. Rawlinson, on the authority of the old Babylonian documents, discovered since Bunsen wrote, maintains that the early inhabitants of Southern Babylonia "were of a cognate race with the primitive colonists, both of Arabia and of the African Ethiopia." He found their vocabulary to be "undoubtedly Cushite or Ethiopian." (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, i. 442. Bamp. Lec., p. 356.)

³ *Anc. Egypt.* iv. 262, 263.

remarkable is the confirmation of the historical accuracy of the Mosaic statement derived from the monuments: "The monuments of Babylonia furnish abundant evidence of the fact, that a Hamitic race held possession of that country in the earliest times, and continued to be a powerful element in the population down to a period but very little preceding the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. The most ancient historical records found in the country, and many of the religious and scientific documents to the time of the conqueror of Judæa, are written in a language which belongs to the Allophylian family, presenting affinities with the dialects of Africa on the one hand, and with those of High Asia on the other."¹

In the statement regarding Nimrod there are historical facts of the utmost importance, as to the earlier origin of Babylon compared with Nineveh, and the inferiority of the latter, in the time of Moses, to Resen which was emphatically called "the great city," though in after ages Nineveh became the largest and most renowned city of antiquity. But what chiefly deserves notice is the invasion of the territories of one of the Shemitic nations by a Hamitic race—a fact which made Assyria to be styled "the land of Nimrod," (Mic. v. 6). That the supremacy of the Cushites was not so marked in its influences on a previous Shemitic population, as at Babylon, "the beginning" of the Nimrodic kingdom, and evidently over a Hamitic population, is certainly a very probable conclusion, and it is fully borne out by cuneiform inscriptions. However closely related Nineveh and Babylon may have been in the time of Nimrod, yet there appears the greatest diversity in the monuments as respects the religion, manners and language of the respective cities. Nineveh from its relation to Asshur largely retained its Shemitic elements, while Babylon was as unequivocally marked by Hamitic characteristics.

The only other point that calls for remark in this place is the Hamitic origin of the Canaanites, (ver. 6). This has been denied by several modern writers, who maintain that they belong to the Shemitic family, on the ground chiefly of the identity of the Canaanitish with the Hebrew language. "All the Canaanitish names," says Tuch,² "as also the Phœnicio-Punic

¹ Rawlinson, Herodotus, i. 655.

² Die Genesis, p. 245.

remains of the language and writing are purely Shemitic. The same also with the Philistines, whose king always bore the Shemitic name Abimelech, (Gen. xx. 2; xxvi. 1; Ps. xxxiv. 1). The names of their towns are all Shemitic, and the Philistines and Hebrews understood one another, (1 Sam. xvii. 21, 27; Jud. xiv.)." And to this Winer¹ adds, that according to Isai. xix. 18, the Hebrew was the "language of Canaan." How unsafe are the inferences from linguistic resemblances when unsupported by any other evidence, is fully acknowledged by modern ethnographers, and particularly with regard to the languages of Africa and Asia, in which there was on the clearest evidence an original unity.² With regard to the Hebrew being styled "the tongue of Canaan," it is not at all wonderful that after the Israelites had been for centuries the principal dwellers of Canaan, their language should be denominated after that land. Without questioning these philological affinities, the Hamitic origin of the Canaanites, however, is fully established on other grounds. That they were not the original inhabitants of Palestine is proved by various passages of Scripture, and it is now no less clearly evinced that they were distinct from the Phœnician immigrants. They spread towards the south over the land of Canaan before the time of Abraham, (Gen. x. 15-19; xii. 6). Even very lately, Bunsen³ regarded the Shemitic origin of the Canaanites as fully established, but the subsequent researches of Sir H. Rawlinson have placed the question in an entirely different light. That eminent ethnologist is satisfied that they had a common origin with the Egyptians, Ethiopians and Libyans,—an origin which he calls indifferently Scythic or Hamite.⁴

2. BABYLON AND ASSYRIA. Recent excavations in the region of the Euphrates and Tigris have brought to light long buried monuments, which serve in a remarkable degree both to elucidate and confirm many Biblical statements. Of course they bear more largely on the later than on the earlier periods of Scripture history, but even as regards these they supply valuable contributions.

¹ Bib. Realwörterbuch, I., 209.

² Rawlinson, Herodotus, i. 646.

³ Phil. of Univ. Hist., i. 190, 244.

⁴ Journ. of Asiatic Soc., XV., 230, quoted in Rawlinson's Bamp. Lect., p. 357.

The origin of Babylon, the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom referred to by anticipation in the genealogical table, is narrated in Gen. xi. 1-9. The Noahcidæ, migrating southward from Armenia, reached the plains of Shinar, where they set about the erection of a city and a tower of great altitude, for the purpose, as they expressed it, of making themselves a name, and preventing them being scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth, (ver. 4). How long this was after the deluge, or who were the parties engaged in it, is not stated. The work had proceeded some length when it was stopped by a miraculous interposition, which broke up the unity of language, and led to a dispersion of the people "upon the face of all the earth." A division of the earth is mentioned, (x. 25,) as having been the occasion of the name Peleg to the great-grandson of Shem, and should this refer to the separation of mankind, it would settle the date of that event:¹ but the connexion is doubtful, although it is not in the least opposed to any Biblical statement. However this may be, the account of the project in the plain of Shinar receives confirmations from various quarters.

Various references to it, and to the results which followed, are found in heathen authors. Abydenus says, in a fragment of his Assyrian history preserved by Eusebius, that some related, "that the first men who were upon the earth, relying on their strength and greatness, despising the gods, and thinking themselves superior to them, undertook to build a high tower on the spot where Babylon now stands." And after narrating the destruction of their work by the winds coming to the help of the gods, he adds: "And whereas, before that period all men had but one language, they now began to speak different tongues." The same account is given by Maribas of Catina, who had taken it from an ancient Chaldee work, translated into Greek by order of Alexander the Great. The Sybilline oracle contains a similar tradition.²

In the account of the physical features of the country, and of the materials employed in the structure, there is a remarkable accordance with the testimony of eye-witnesses. "They found a plain;" the territory of Babylon proper consists

¹ Anc. Univ. History, I., 359. Lond. ² Rosenmüller, Bib. Geog., II., 66, 67. 1747.

of an almost unbroken plain. Layard¹ characterises it as “a boundless plain,” as seen from the most northern remains of the ancient city of Babylon. The whole character of this alluvial district could not have been more exactly described than by the terms, “and they had brick for stone, and slime (bitumen,) had they for mortar,”—the very materials used, according to Herodotus, in the construction of the walls of Babylon—the bricks being as here, burnt and not simply sun-dried, as in the earlier Egyptian structures. And it is well known from the description of modern travellers how abundant bitumen is in that region.²

Amid the numerous changes induced through time on the Babylonian structures, it is not likely that the first undertaking can be identified, even should it be supposed that its ruins still exist; and although many hold it to be the same as the temple of Belus, of which an account is given by Herodotus, and which was long supposed to be represented by the Birs-Nimrod—a view now controverted by Sir H. Rawlinson and others,³ the identity is very doubtful. The etymology of the name Babel, (בָּבֶל from בָּלָל, “to confound,”) “confusion,” is objected to by some writers, who maintain that the second part of the name is derived from Bel, or Baal, the chief national god to whom the temple was dedicated, and that the name signifies “the temple of Bel.”⁴ This view is fully refuted by the fact that it was not until a late period that there are traces of the worship of Bel at Babylon. In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, the name of Bel, as a distinct divinity, hardly ever occurs. The great temple of Babylon is consecrated to Merodach, and that god is the tutelar divinity of the city. In the Assyrian inscriptions, however, Bel is associated with Babylon.⁵ One of the earliest and chief gods of Babylon was Nipru, after whom the city is sometimes called in the inscriptions Bilu-Nipru, under which designation Rawlinson finds an allusion to the Biblical Nimrod, and also to his character of a hunter. “After mature deliberation no better explanation can be obtained for Nipru than ‘the hunter.’”⁶

¹ Nineveh and Babylon, p. 491. Lond.

1853.

² Rawlinson's Herod., vol. i. p. 316.

³ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 573.

⁴ Kalisch, Genesis, p. 321.

⁵ Rawlinson, Herod., vol. i. p. 318.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 596, 597.

There are numerous other indications which connect Nimrod with Babylon and its associated cities, particularly with Calneh, supposed to be the original Babylon, and which is believed to be represented by Niffer, and also with Assyria, whither he subsequently extended his conquests over the original Shemitic inhabitants.

The early Scripture notices of Assyria are still more scanty than those of Babylon; the only fact recorded being the invasion of Nimrod and the names of the cities which he founded. The early date here assigned to Nineveh has been denied on the authority of a statement of Herodotus.¹ But the historian refers only to the founding of the Assyrian Empire on asserting its independence of Babylon in the dominions of which it was previously included. "About the year B. C. 1273, Assyria, which had previously been a comparatively unimportant country, became one of the leading states of the East, possessing what Herodotus not improperly terms an empire, and exercising a paramount authority over the various tribes upon her borders. The seat of government at this early time appears to have been at Asshur, the modern Kileh-Shergat, on the right bank of the Tigris, sixty miles south of the later capital, Nineveh. At this place have been found the bricks and fragments of vases bearing the names and titles of (apparently,) the earliest known Assyrian kings, as well as bricks and pottery inscribed with the names of satraps, who seem to have ruled the country during the time of Babylonian ascendancy."² This strikingly comports with the notices of Assyria and its cities as existing in the Mosaic age; and as Eichhorn remarks, "who does not here recognise the man who wrote before Nineveh had yet reached that greatness which we find it possessing in Jonah, and among the Greeks? Another writer, some centuries later, would have made Nineveh, which was so amazingly great in the last centuries of the Assyrian Monarchy, the greatest city."³

The name of Nineveh, however, it is urged, indicates that it was founded by Ninus, in accordance with the testimony of the Greek historians, and not by Nimrod.⁴ There was, how-

¹ Lib. i. 95.

² Rawlinson, *Her.*, i. 445.

³ *Einleitung*, iii. 89.

⁴ Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 230. Lond. 1849.

ever, no such personage as Ninus: the whole is a fiction. "*Nin* appears to have been synonymous in the Scythic of Babylon, with *Bel* in the Shemitic of Assyria, both terms signifying generally 'a lord,' and being applied, with some specific qualificative adjunct, to several of the gods in the Pantheon."¹

Of the other cities founded by Nimrod in Assyria notice need only be taken of Resen, which is described as the "great city," and as having been situated between Nineveh and Calah, (x. 12). If the latter be correctly identified with Kilah-Shergat, and the former with Kouyunjik, then in all probability Resen will be represented by Nimroud, situated about nine geographical miles north of Kilah-Shergat, and four south of Kouyunjik, exactly corresponding in position with that assigned to it in Genesis. Layard,² indeed, regards Nimroud as the original site of Nineveh; but though at a later period it may have formed a part of that magnificent capital, it is more probable that at first it was a distinct city. If the Larissa of Xenophon be the Resen of Scripture, or the Nimroud of recent explorers, there is evidence that it formed no part of Nineveh; and being the first capital, it alone assumed the name of the founder. Its early extent is fully indicated by its remains.

Another locality mentioned in the early portion of the Mosaic record is Ur of the Chaldees, the native place of the family of Abraham, (Gen. xi. 28, 31). It is not stated whether it was a city or a district, and although identified with the ruins of Warka, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates,³ the matter is quite doubtful. However, the inscriptions have cleared up many obscurities regarding the origin of the Chaldeans, regarded by Sir H. Rawlinson as a branch of the great Hamitic race of Akkad, who inhabited Babylonia from the earliest time.⁴ Their connexion with Ur, the residence of a Shemitic branch, is a further confirmation of the supremacy which the Hamites, led by Nimrod, had acquired in Babylonia. The name of the race is preserved in one of

¹ Rawlinson, *Her.* i. 453.

² Nineveh and its Remains, ii., 246.

³ Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 162. Lond., 1857.

⁴ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 319.

their cities, Accad; and their first settlements are concluded to have been Erech and Ur, the modern sites of which are represented by the ruins of Warka and Mugeyer.¹

There is no other notice of Assyria or Babylon until some time after the arrival of Abraham in Palestine, when "Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Tidal, king of Goim," undertook a hostile expedition into that country, to reduce again into subjection the five kings of the valley of the Jordan who had thrown off the yoke of Chedorlaomer, under which they had been brought thirteen years before, (Gen. xiv. 1-5). Passing over many interesting points connected with this narrative, as the evidence which it furnishes of the dominion exercised by the upper-Asiatic powers over territories so remote, and the kind of inducements which led them to seize on the district in question, which always formed the road which, from the Ælanitic gulf, divides the wilderness watered by the Nile and Euphrates, it is to be noted that the chief of the confederate kings, Chedorlaomer, is supposed to be identical with an early king of Babylon, whose name in the inscriptions appears to be Kudurmapula, and is further distinguished by a title which may be rendered "Ravager of the West," while "there are peculiarities in the forms of the letters, and even in the elements composing the names upon his bricks, which favour his connexion with Elam."²

These coincidences may in themselves be unimportant, but they assume a different character when the paucity of materials in regard to the early periods of the world's history is considered. Thus Sir Henry Rawlinson: "Until quite recently the most obscure chapter in the world's history was that which related to ancient Babylonia. With the exception of the Scriptural notices regarding the kingdom of Nimrod and the confederates of Chedor-laomer, there was nothing authentic to satisfy, or even to guide research. So little, indeed, of positive information could be gathered from profane sources, that it depended on mere critical judgment,—on an estimate, that is, of the comparative credibility of certain Greek writers,—whether we believed in the existence, from the earliest times,

¹ Loftus, *Chaldæa*, p. 96.

² Rawlinson's *Her.* i., 436.

of a continuous Assyrian empire, to which the Babylonians and all the other great nations of Western Asia were subordinate, or whether, rejecting Assyrian supremacy as a fable, we were content to fill up the interval, from the first dawn of history to the commencement of the Greek Olympiads, with a series of dynasties which reigned successively in the countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, but of whose respective duration and nationality we had no certain or definite conception."¹ The case, however, is greatly changed, since within the last few years the records of the people themselves have been exhumed from the ruins of their long buried cities; and it is gratifying to find that, so far as these records come into contact with the Bible, they illustrate and corroborate even its most incidental statements.

3. EGYPT.—This is, above all others, the foreign country the Biblical notices of which are not only the most numerous, but extend over the longest period, and which, at the same time, affords in its remarkable monuments the amplest materials for comparison with the several Scriptural statements, particularly with those of the Pentateuch, the author of which was not only born in Egypt, but also instructed in all its learning. The acquaintance possessed by the author of the Pentateuch with all that concerned Egypt—its history, manners, and laws, its productions and physical peculiarities—has been already referred to in another connexion. It only remains to adduce here some of the most striking and direct attestations, derived from the study of the hieroglyphics, for the confirmation in particular of the earlier portion of the Biblical history, or that preceding the Mosaic age.

The usual Biblical name of Egypt is *Mitzraim*, a dual form, possibly in reference to the twofold division of Upper and Lower Egypt,—the “two regions” so commonly met with in the hieroglyphics, although this designation itself does not occur.² If such be the derivation of the term, it must have been transferred to that son of Ham by whom the country was colonized. The evidences furnished in the monuments and otherwise, of the Hamitic origin of the Egyptians, have been already considered; and this testimony is the more im-

¹ Rawlinson. *Her.* i. 432.

² Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 2.

portant, because there are not wanting other indications which would seem to favour a Shemitic descent. There is no question, however, as clearly appears from Scripture and the monuments, that they were a distinct people from the Cushites or Ethiopians, with whom they have been sometimes ranked. Further, the great antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, and the early progress of the nation in agriculture, and those other arts which indicate a high state of civilization, are matters plainly deducible from the first direct reference to that people in Scripture ; for while Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrew nation, from whose records are derived the earliest authentic notices of Egypt, was still living as a nomade in Palestine, then parcelled out, it would appear, among a number of heterogeneous tribes, and under the dominion of petty princes, Egypt was in possession of a regular government. And what is of more importance, it was already a place of refuge from the famines which sometimes visited the neighbouring lands. These and other statements, to be presently adverted to, are fully corroborated by the evidence preserved in the architectural remains of the nation itself,—still the admiration of travellers, on account both of their age and their remarkable workmanship.

(1.) *Egypt in the Time of Abraham.*—The visit of the patriarch to Egypt is briefly recorded in Gen. xii. 10-20 ; yet, though brief, the account contains many important particulars. The cause of Abraham's temporary removal to Egypt was a famine in the land of Canaan, whither he had but recently come from the fertile banks of the Euphrates. Egypt, dependent for its fertility on the inundations of the Nile, regulated by artificial processes of irrigation, was already highly celebrated for its productions (comp. Gen. xiii. 10) ; it was a corn country ; but the trade with Palestine was not yet developed, as in the time of Jacob, when there were regular halting places for the caravans (xlii. 27) ; and therefore, notwithstanding the fears entertained by Abraham of the treatment he might meet with in Egypt, he was under the necessity of removing thither with his family and property. On his arrival he finds a royal court, surrounded by great officers of state : in accordance with the ancient custom of Egypt, that no slave should approach the consecrated priestly person of

Pharaoh, the court and the regal suite consisted of the sons of the principal priests.¹ It also deserves notice, that here and throughout the Pentateuch the monarch is invariably distinguished, not by his personal name but by his official title Pharaoh; and the more so, because this peculiarity is not so strictly attended to in the subsequent Scriptures (*e. g.*, 1 Kings xi. 40), the writers of which had no such intimate acquaintance with the strict formalities of the Egyptian Court, as the author of the Pentateuch, who thought and wrote as an Egyptian subject.²

Some insight into the state of the Egyptian court and the morals of the people is afforded by the notice of Sarah's introduction into and temporary detention in the royal harem. Abraham, on approaching Egypt, was in great fear for his personal safety, thinking that the Egyptians would not scruple to slay him in order to get possession of his wife,—thus implying an impression on his part that they viewed murder as a far more trivial offence than adultery. The Egyptian conception of the sacredness of the marriage relation is intimated in Pharaoh's own statement (Gen. xii. 18, 19), where he expostulates with the patriarch for his deception. It also appears, from the haste with which Sarah was dismissed, and Abraham sent out of the country, occasioned probably by a fear lest it should transpire that even unwittingly a man's wife had been taken away from him. Of the high respect entertained for the conjugal tie there is ample evidence, from the severity of the punishment with which offences against it were visited;³ but it does not appear that, at least in later times, the Egyptian notions of murder were so lax as the possibly exaggerated fears of the patriarch would seem to suggest.⁴

To the list of the animals presented to Abraham on this occasion by Pharaoh, exception has been taken because it does not include horses, a chief production of Egypt, and mentions animals which did not thrive in Egypt, as the sheep and camel, and others, as the ass, which were the objects of special hatred. On the first part of the objection it is enough to remark, that only such gifts were bestowed on the patriarch

¹ Diodorus Siculus, i. 70.

³ Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 39.

² Hävernicks, *Einleitung*, I. ii. 302.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 36.

as would be serviceable to a nomade. Indeed, the omission of the horse is an undesigned confirmation of the truth of the narrative; for it clearly appears from the monuments that the horse was at that period used chiefly for purposes of war, and so quite unsuitable for the patriarch. Further, the assertion respecting the sheep and the ass needs no remark, as it is fully confuted by the monuments.¹ Of the camel, however, these present no traces; and Heeren² was mistaken when he stated the contrary. But, as Wilkinson observes, its absence on the monuments affords no ground to conclude that it was rare in any part of Egypt, since there are other omissions equally remarkable.³ In this case, however, the deficiency of the Egyptian monuments is supplied, indirectly, by those of Assyria. On the black obelisk from Nimroud camels are represented among objects sent as tribute by Egypt.⁴

Another circumstance noticeable in this, the earliest account of Egypt, is, that there is no trace of that contempt of foreigners, or abhorrence of the nomade tribes, which, according to the concurrent testimony of Scripture and profane writers, was at a subsequent period a marked feature in the Egyptian character, and the origin of which will be presently considered.

(2.) *Egypt in the Time of Joseph*.—From this time Egypt occupies a more considerable place in the Biblical narrative, owing to the close relation into which, by Divine Providence, the Hebrews were for a long period brought with that land, through Joseph, who, carried thither as a slave, was at length raised to be governor of Egypt.

The first thing noticeable at this period is the commercial intercourse between Egypt and the neighbouring countries, and particularly the traffic in slaves. The Ishmaelites found a ready market in Egypt, not only for the spices of Gilead, "balm and myrrh" (Gen. xxxvii. 25), needed by the embalmers,⁵ but also for slaves, which they regarded as an investment

¹ Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 33, 34.

² *Nations of Africa*, E. T. ii. 357. Oxf. 1832.

³ *Anc. Egyp.*, iii. 35.

⁴ *Smith's Dic. of Bible*, Art. *Egypt*, i. 500. There is certainly no warrant for the statement of Osburn, that "the

camel was altogether unclean in Ancient Egypt, and never, therefore, permitted to cross its borders."—*Monumental Hist.*, ii. 279.

⁵ Herod., ii. 86; and Wilkinson's Note in Rawlinson, ii. 141.

equally profitable. That slavery existed in Egypt at a still earlier period may be inferred from the fact, that the presents made to Abraham included "men-servants and maid-servants" (xii. 16); and if among the latter was comprehended Hagar, Sarah's Egyptian maid, as is not at all improbable, native Egyptians must have been held in that condition, and liable to be disposed of to strangers. During the prevalence of the seven years of famine, all the neighbouring countries resorted to Egypt for corn, on the report which speedily reached them, as it did Jacob in Palestine, that there "was corn in Egypt"—another proof of close intercourse with that land. In all these transactions money was the ordinary medium of trade (Gen. xlii. 25), and was such even as early as the time of Abraham (xxiii. 16).

But still more copious is the information furnished with respect to the domestic manners of the Egyptians, and the duties of several of the high officers of state. Although polygamy, if the statement of Diodorus¹ be correct, was not forbidden, yet it must have been unusual, for there is no instance on the monuments of a man having more than one wife at a time.² Potiphar, the master of Joseph, had only one wife; but what appears most strange, in an oriental point of view, is the freedom from restraint possessed, according to the Scripture narrative, by Joseph's mistress, and the access which both he and the other men-servants had to her at all times. This, however, is in striking conformity with the social customs of that people: women, indeed, were there indulged with greater freedom than in any other eastern country, and this from the very earliest times; while a story of Herodotus, which, however, Wilkinson⁴ characterises as un-Egyptian, shows, if true, a corruption of morals which is fully in accordance with the conduct of Potiphar's wife.

Other customs of the Egyptians, to which reference is made in the Mosaic writings, are the observance of the royal birth-days (Gen. xl. 20), and the prejudices as to eating with foreigners (xliii. 32), of which Herodotus⁵ also takes notice. The time of dinner was noon (xliii. 16), and the habit was to sit

¹ Diod. Sic. i. 80.

⁴ Rawlinson's Herod., ii. 182.

² Wilkinson, An. Eg. ii. 62.

⁵ Lib. ii. 41.

³ Ibid., ii. 389.

at table (xliii. 33), as is also shown on the monuments.¹ According to Herodotus, they drank out of brazen cups: "There is no exception," he says, "to this practice."² Now, in opposition to this, Joseph is stated to have had a silver drinking-cup (Gen. xlv. 2, 5), and the sculptures show that the wealthy Egyptians used glass, porcelain, and gold, sometimes inlaid with a coloured composition resembling enamel, or with precious stones.³

Here may be noticed an objection to the accuracy of the Biblical mention of the vine in the account of the chief butler's dream (Gen. xl. 9-11). It is alleged, on the testimony of Plutarch, that the kings were not permitted to drink wine until the reign of Psammetichus, corresponding to the time of Josiah; and also that Herodotus states that the Egyptians used for drink a beverage prepared from barley, because no vines grew in the land. In this again, however, the accuracy of the Hebrew historian has been indisputably established. First, it is to be observed, the statement of Herodotus applies only to a part of Egypt,—“the corn country,” probably in the interior of the broad Delta, where the alluvial soil was not well suited to the vine; for otherwise, the statement is opposed to fact, and is also in contradiction to other passages, where he notices that the priests had allowed them “a portion of wine made from the grape, and that they began their sacrifices with a libation of wine.”⁴ Nor is the statement of Plutarch better supported. It is unnecessary to adduce the testimony of Diodorus and other ancient authorities to the contrary, seeing that the whole matter is completely set at rest by the evidence of the monuments, where there are representations of vineyards, with the various modes of training the vine, of grape-gathering, and of wine-presses. The wine-presses and offerings of wine in the tombs at the Pyramids, show wine was made in Egypt at least as early as the fourth dynasty.⁵ It is remarked by travellers that the clusters and grapes are very small in Egypt; and this may explain the

¹ Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 201.

² Herod. ii. 37.

³ Wilkinson, *Note in Rawlinson.* ii. 61: *Anc. Eyp* ii. 220.

⁴ Wilkinson, *Note on Her.* ii. 77. *Rawlinson* ii., p. 126.

⁵ Wilkinson, *An. Eg.* ii. 142 158, and *Note in Rawlinson,* ii. 104.

surprise of the Israelitish spies at the enormous produce of the vines in Southern Palestine, (Numb. xiii. 23.)

The symbolical appearances, too, in Pharaoh's dreams, are particularly characteristic (Gen. xli.); they are entirely Egyptian. Standing by the Nile, the monarch sees kine come up out of it, then follow the ears of corn. The Nile is the physical cause of Egypt's fertility; it is also the symbol of the year: out of it arises the cow, the symbol of the Telluric-agrarian life, and of the productive power of Nature,—the most sacred of animals—connected with which is the ear of corn, a relation recognised elsewhere in the old system of symbols.¹

Other incidental remarks occur, which indicate peculiarities noticed by profane writers, or still discernible on the monuments. Thus it struck Herodotus² that the Egyptian women carried burdens upon their shoulders, while the men carried them upon their heads: and so, in Gen. xl. 16, the chief baker in his dream carries the wicker baskets on his head. But a more striking coincidence is found in the notice that on Joseph's being sent for by Pharaoh, he "shaved" before coming into the king's presence, (xli. 14). The Egyptians, according to Herodotus,³ "only let the hair of their head and beard grow in mourning, being at all other times shaved;" and this, as Wilkinson remarks, "agrees perfectly with the authority of the Bible and of the sculptures. So particular, indeed, were they on this point, that to have neglected it was a subject of reproach and ridicule." And further, "they did not confine the privilege of shaving to free-born citizens, like the Romans, who obliged slaves to wear their beards and hair long, and only permitted them the use of a cap after they had been enfranchised; and though foreigners, who were brought to Egypt as slaves, had beards on their arrival in the country, we find that as soon as they were employed in the service of this civilized people, they were obliged to conform to the cleanly habits of their masters; their beards and heads were shaved; and they adopted a close cap."⁴

Allusion has already been made to the antipathy enter-

¹ Hävernicks, Einleit. I. ii. 386.

² Lib. ii. 35.

³ Lib. ii. 36; iii. 12.

⁴ Anc. Egypt., iii. 357, 358. On the investiture of Joseph, see Wilkinson, v. 294.

tained by the Egyptians to strangers. Herodotus¹ states that this was particularly the case with regard to the Greeks, so much so that "no native of Egypt will use the knife of a Greek, or his spit, or his cauldron, or taste the flesh of an ox, known to be pure, if it has been cut with a Greek knife." The historian accounts for this on the ground that the Greeks sacrificed the cow which the Egyptians regard as sacred to Isis. The more probable reason was their counting all foreigners unclean, for the same antipathy was manifested by them in the matter of eating with the Hebrews, (Gen. xliii. 32). But what particularly merits attention was their feelings towards such as were engaged in pastoral occupations,—“every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians,” (xli. 34),—and which, as already remarked, must have sprung up since the time of Abraham. “As if to prove how much they despised every order of pastors, the artists, both of Upper and Lower Egypt, delighted on all occasions in representing them as dirty and unshaven; and at Beni Hassan and the tombs near the Pyramids of Geezeh, we find them caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race.”² The origin of this prejudice it may be difficult to determine, and indeed, all that belongs to the present purpose is merely to notice the fact. Still, it is worthy of consideration whether it may not be connected with the remembrance of the cruelties committed by a race of rulers who, under the name of shepherd kings, held for a time, as noticed by Manetho and others, possession of Egypt. Such is the cause to which Wilkinson refers it, and he also concludes that “the already existing prejudice against shepherds, when the Hebrews arrived, shows the invasion by the Hycsos to have happened previous to that event.” Others, however, it must be added, entirely reject the story of the Hycsos, and see in it only a corruption of the tradition relative to the Exodus of the Israelites. But, as this is a question to which Scripture is in no way committed, it need not be considered here.

Of the officers attached to the Pharaonic court, mention is made of three,—the captain of the guard, a functionary to whose custody the *state* prisoners at least were committed; the

¹ Lib. ii. 41.

² Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, ii. 16.

chief butler, and the chief baker or cook, other very important functionaries in Egypt, (Gen. xl. 1-3). The state prison formed part of the residence of the captain of the guard. Of the Egyptian prisons, and the mode of punishing criminals capitally, little is known but what is communicated in the Bible, where hanging is mentioned, (xl. 22,) which some, however, as Kitto,¹ suggest may have been rather gibbeting of the body after death had been inflicted in some other way; and it is also thought that it was to prevent this frightful custom, with which they had been familiar in Egypt, from being adopted by the Israelites, that they were forbidden to expose bodies in this manner longer than until sunset, (Deut. xxi. 22). But there is no evidence that such was an Egyptian custom. An instance of the kind is mentioned by Herodotus, where the body of a thief was ordered to be exposed; but this, it appears, was with a view to the discovery of the accomplice, and not as a punishment.² The other functionaries mentioned must have been persons of consideration. The baker's art, in particular, received great attention, and the various processes in the formation of pastry are frequently represented on the monuments, and were deemed not unworthy of a place in the embellishments of the royal tombs.³ The chief baker must have been a distinguished personage in the royal household, and not less so the chief butler, whose office it was to present the wine cup to Pharaoh.

A class or caste of "magicians and wise men," are spoken of as in great repute, (Gen. xli. 8). And the same with respect to the priests, who enjoyed special immunities—held their lands by absolute tenure, and were entitled to sustenance directly from the king, (xlvi. 22,) and were of such a high standing that Joseph, when ennobled and invested with authority next to Pharaoh, obtained from the king in marriage the daughter of the priest of On, (xli. 45). The office of high priest in the metropolitan temples of Egypt—and On or Heliopolis was one of the most noted—was the first and highest in the state, ranking next to the kings.⁴ The priests are represented by Herodotus as being the principal landed pro-

¹ Bible Illustr., i. 415.

² Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, ii. 45.

³ Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, ii. 384-6

⁴ Heeren, *Africa*, ii. 126.

prietors in Egypt; and he further states that they were provided with a daily allowance of meat, corn, and wine.¹

(3.) *Egypt in the Mosaic Age.* The Egypt of the author of the Pentateuch's own period, is no less fully and correctly described; but as this has been in a great part already considered, it is only necessary to examine one or two incidents connected with this period. And first, the circumstance relative to the "new king," (Exod. i. 3,) whether it respected a mere individual succession, or a change of dynasty? The latter view is adopted by such as accept the account of Manetho regarding the Hycsos who, it is thus concluded, ruled Egypt at the time of the Israelites' immigration thither. The more probable supposition, however, is that in the mention of the new king there is no reference to any dynastic change, and that the reason for his being called *new* is contained in the words, "who knew not Joseph." Disregard of the services of Joseph is the distinction between the new and the preceding rulers of Egypt. According to Hengstenberg,² "not the least trace is found in the whole Pentateuch of a foreign dominion over Egypt. The credibility of the Pentateuch cannot be asserted without denying the reality of a government of the Hycsos. The proper name of the national ruler of Egypt, Pharaoh, meets us everywhere,—in the time of Abraham, Joseph and Moses. The national hatred of the Egyptians to shepherds, presents itself before us in the period described in Genesis, and at the time of the Exodus." This is, however, stating the matter too strongly as respects the Pentateuch. Without, however, committing Moses to the much disputed story of the Hycsos, it may be remarked that the supposition that the notice in the beginning of the book of Exodus refers to their expulsion, and the restoration of the native princes, utterly precludes the theory which would account for the prejudice of the Egyptians towards shepherds in the time of Joseph, on the ground of the recollection of the Hycsos, who must have been thus already expelled.

An incident connected with the Exodus deserves notice. This is the rapidity with which Pharaoh assembled the army

¹ Lib. ii. 37; and see Wilkinson, An. Eg., i. 262

² Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 260.

with which he pursued the fugitive Israelites. This leads Heeren to infer that he was probably a ruler of Memphis, and further, that it "evinces clearly enough, that the Egyptian warriors of that epoch must have been quartered in just the same district in which Herodotus places them."¹

These are only a few of the references to Egypt occurring in the Mosaic writings; but they are sufficient to show that the Egypt of the Pentateuch is no fancy sketch, and that, as respects accuracy, all the notices of that land are creditably distinguished from many of the statements of Herodotus who, although resident for some time in that country, was yet, from his ignorance of its language, entirely at the mercy of his informants, the priests, who grossly imposed upon him with respect to many particulars. That all such errors and exaggerations as mar the narrative of the historian of Halicarnassus have been avoided by the writer of the Pentateuch, shows clearly, not only, as already argued, that he must have been a native of the country, but also that he drew his materials for the history of the times preceding his own from perfectly authentic sources. For although he never professedly enters on the history or condition of Egypt, yet he mentions several incidental particulars of the highest importance, bearing on the state of that country at different periods, which exhibit the most wonderful accuracy when tried by other authentic evidence, and furnish at the same time to the philosophic inquirer evidence entirely consistent with that deducible from other sources, of the progressive development of that remarkable government.

SECT. III. THE PENTATEUCH IN RELATION TO ITS MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP AND THE HEBREW MONUMENTS.

Graves, *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, Part i. The authenticity and truth of the history, vol. i., pp. 3-177, 2d edit. Lond. 1815.

The genuineness of the Pentateuch, or the fact of its being the production of Moses, so fully attested by internal indications, and corroborated by every other available testimony, has

¹ *Anc. Nations of Africa*, ii. 136.

a most intimate bearing on its authenticity. This, however, is not so much owing to the character of the writer as to the circumstances in which the work must have been produced. The credibility of the history, or that portion of it at least which refers to the writer's own time, may be held as in a great measure, if not altogether, established, as soon as it is shown to be a contemporaneous record, even should it have been the production of an anonymous author; and if so, much more certainly if it bear the full impress of the lawgiver himself, and was published in the circumstances therein set forth. This is, indeed, admitted by the most extreme sceptics. Thus Strauss: "It would, most unquestionably, be an argument of decisive weight in favour of the credibility of the Biblical history, could it, indeed, be shown that it was written by eye-witnesses."¹ Hence the efforts of such parties to discredit the genuineness of the Pentateuch, by assigning its origin, or at least its present form, to a much later period.

Arguments of this kind, deduced from considerations of the contemporaneous relation of the history to the particulars therein recorded, apply chiefly to the history of the Exodus and the sojourn in the wilderness, and so to the last four books of the Pentateuch; yet, as these are closely connected with Genesis, constitute its necessary continuation, and contain the partial development of the purposes therein declared, they have a bearing also on the whole pre-Mosaic history. Their legitimacy may certainly be allowed with regard to the preliminary history of the Israelitish people: some of the patriarchal traditions, at least, must have been so deeply fixed in the Hebrew mind, and, doubtless, impressed the more by the sufferings and oppressions endured in Egypt, that any material variation between the record and the traditions as orally received, would necessarily arrest attention on the appearance of the work, and so far prove injurious to its authority. Still it is to the properly contemporaneous history that this reasoning, in its full strength, applies; nor is it necessary at present to extend it beyond its proper bounds. The general credi-

¹ *Leben Jesu*, E. T., vol. i. 55. And again: "Moses, if his intimate connection with the Deity, described in these [last four] books, be historically true, was likewise eminently qualified, by virtue of such connection, to produce a credible history of the earlier periods." P. 56.

bility of the early record, so far as its statements could be tested by any well authenticated facts, has been abundantly confirmed; and therefore, in the present case, there is less occasion for going beyond the Mosaic age, except with regard to such monuments of a Hebrew origin as may be found to illustrate or confirm any statement affecting the earlier period.

With regard, then, to the connection between the greater part of the Pentateuch and the incidents therein recorded, it is absolutely certain that no writer, whatever might have been his authority, could pass off on his contemporaries the numerous and explicit statements of an historical character, which constitute so large a portion of the Mosaic writings, unless they were the plain and simple record of actual occurrences. The very attempt of anything to the contrary would certainly evoke the question calumniously addressed to Moses, in connection with another matter: "Wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?" (Num. xvi. 14) more particularly when, from the charge thus actually preferred, it evidently appears there were parties really disposed to denounce any such deception. But, indeed, such a supposition does not require refutation. The majority of the transactions recorded was of a kind utterly to preclude the idea that by any persuasion a people could be brought to accept them as actual occurrences if they were not really such. More particularly must this appear to be the case when the nature of the record itself is considered, and of the faith which its statements demanded. The Pentateuch is no mere historical romance, intended simply to amuse, or to gratify the vanity of a people,¹ and the character and claims of which would not be critically investigated. It is, indeed, in every respect the reverse of this, being from the very first the supreme rule to which the public and private life of Israel required to be conformed. It was, consequently, no careless unquestioning assent to its representations, whether of historical or legal matters, that would in such circumstances be elicited. On the contrary, everything conspired to further a careful, considerate examination of its statements and claims.

¹ In this respect it stands in remarkable contrast with the work of Josephus, as may be seen from the different view given by that writer of several transac-

tions in the history of his nation. See Journal of Sacred Literature, Oct. 1850, pp. 307-310.

Some of the transactions recorded took place in the presence of all the congregation of Israel ; and others in the presence, too, of Israel's enemies, as in certain events which preceded and attended the Exodus. Besides, these occurrences were not only public and cognisable by the senses ; they were, many of them, matters of direct personal participation or experience, as the passage of the Red Sea, commemorated in the song of deliverance composed on the occasion ; the daily supplies of manna, continued for forty years, and various other incidents of the wilderness sojourn, which so directly concerned the people, and of the reality, at least, of which they could not possibly be misinformed.

That the events referred to, and others of a like kind, actually occurred in the history of the Israelites, if recorded at the time indicated in the Pentateuch, and also rehearsed, as plainly intimated, in the hearing of the people by Moses before his death, (Deut. i. 1 ; xxxi. 1,) cannot for a moment be questioned. This in fact is a matter which, as already remarked, does not need argumentation. And it is equally clear that the account given of these transactions must have been a plain unvarnished description, for as such only could it be submitted to contemporary readers or hearers. Indeed the language of the Pentateuch everywhere is far removed from anything approaching oriental exaggeration or hyperbole, and is strikingly marked by simplicity and moderation. But it is unnecessary to urge any consideration of this kind, for whatever may have been the character of the transactions, the fact of their occurrence under some form or other cannot be disputed : and this is all that the present argument requires. This reasoning may, to a certain extent, be deemed conclusive when applied in proof even of the supernatural character of various acts and events recorded in the Pentateuch, but as the inquiry at present concerns merely the historical credibility of the record, and not its divine authority, or the character of the Mosaic Mission, it would only encumber the argument so to extend it.

But not only were the transactions of the Pentateuch in themselves for the greater part fitted to make a deep and lasting impression on the memory of those who witnessed them, however evanescent may have been their moral influ-

ence on a rebellious and stiff-necked people—things in their nature totally distinct—means were adopted for keeping alive their remembrance through succeeding generations. Monuments of various kinds, civil and sacred institutions, and various other arrangements were employed for the twofold purpose of commemorating the transactions of the Pentateuch, by connecting them uninterruptedly with the time of their occurrence, and of preserving that work itself, the most important monument of all to the truth of the history recorded in it.

i. The means which served to commemorate the transactions of the Pentateuch deserve particular consideration.

Some of these were material monuments; such as have at all times been employed to keep up the remembrance of distinguished events, or to mark out localities of an historic character, as the scenes of notable transactions in an individual's or a nation's history, although the Israelites never directed their energies to such structures as those in the erection of which Egypt and some other countries give indications not only of skill and resources, but also of a despotic power in the labour expended on such works. The material monuments of the Israelites were of a far humbler cast; for their chief monuments were of a literary order, and in such works, were there nothing more than the Pentateuch itself, they certainly had precedence of every other ancient people.

However, the earliest proper monuments of Hebrew history were the sepulchres of the patriarchs, the cave of Machpelah, at Hebron, procured originally for the interment of Sarah, and which was subsequently the resting-place of Abraham himself, and the two succeeding patriarchs and their wives, with the exception of Rachel, who was buried elsewhere, and the pillar upon whose grave was another of the old Hebrew monuments. It was in existence down to the Mosaic age, for it is spoken of as "unto this day," (Gen. xxxv. 20,) and is even referred to in the time of Samuel and Saul, (1 Sam. x. 2). Other monuments of a material character, although not coming within the period of the Pentateuch, yet immediately connected with it, were the twelve stones deposited by Joshua in Jordan, and the other twelve stones taken from its bed at the place where the Israelites crossed the divided stream, and

erected at the first place of encampment, (Josh. iv. 5-9). So also the great stones directed by Moses to be set up on mount Ebal, and on which the law was to be inscribed—directions carried out by Joshua, (Deut. xxvii. 2-8 ; Josh. viii. 30-35).

Much to the same purpose, though of a somewhat different description, were the two hundred and fifty brazen censers of Korah and his company, which were made into broad plates for a covering of the altar, "to be a memorial," as it is expressly declared, "unto the children of Israel," (Num. xvi. 38-40,) of the consequences of the impious proceedings of those men. So, too, the brazen serpent which Moses erected in the wilderness for the cure of the serpent-bitten Israelites, (Num. xxi.), and which was preserved for many centuries, until broken by king Hezekiah because it had become an object of idolatry, (2 Kings xviii. 4). There is in this a remarkable attestation to the truth of that portion of the Mosaic narrative, and the more so because of the notice being only incidental. Here was an acknowledged relic of the Mosaic age, while the very abuse to which it was put shows the estimation in which it had been held.¹

More important, however, as a memorial of the wilderness, and of various incidents and transactions, some of them of a very vital character, connected therewith, was the Ark of the Covenant itself, in which were deposited the tables of the law, with the golden pot of manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, laid up beside it. Of the two latter objects there is no distinct mention subsequent to the Mosaic age, but the ark itself can be traced amid its various wanderings down to the time when it was carefully lodged in the temple of Solomon;² and how correctly it told even then the history of its origin—and the same would doubtless hold true of the other memorials referred to—appears from the notice of its transference to the temple: "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt," (1 Kings viii. 9).

¹ See Hävernicks, *Einleit.*, I., ii. 502.

² Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 23. With regard to the manna, too, Ewald holds that at the time of the composition of what he terms the

Book of the Origins, it was still preserved as a memorial of the founding of the community, being renewed from time to time, from Sinai. *Ibid*, pp. 24, 288.

There were, however, other monuments of a still more impressive and permanent character. These consisted in the regular observance of ordinances commemorative of important occurrences and arrangements in the Israelitish history and constitution. Of these standing ordinances in Israel, the most important, doubtless, was the Passover, instituted in commemoration of the Exodus, and the very birth of the nation, (Exod. xii. 26, 27). This was an event which, from whatever point of view it might be contemplated, whether, as regarded the circumstances of the people, or the manner of their deliverance, was unquestionably fitted to make a lively impression on the national mind. But even the deepest impressions of this kind are evanescent, and therefore provision was made for keeping this great fact of Judaism in remembrance. Not only was an annual festival appointed for that purpose, but the greatest care was taken to fix the time of the event with the utmost precision in the calendar, by the month in which it occurred being made the first month of the year.¹

There were various other customs and ordinances commemorative of the past, but perhaps the next in importance to the Passover was the Feast of Tabernacles, intended to keep up the remembrance of the forty years wandering in the wilderness, when the people, delivered from the Egyptian bondage, dwelt in tents, (Lev. xxiii. 42, 43). In connexion, however, with this festival, notice must be taken of the assertion frequently refuted, but still repeated with as much confidence as ever, that it appears from Neh. viii. 17, that from the days of Joshua to those of Ezra, the Feast of Tabernacles was unknown in Israel.² The slightest attention to the passage referred to would have at once shown that it speaks not of the celebration of the feast in general, but only of the *manner* of keeping it on that occasion. "And *all the congregation* of them that were come out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths; for since the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day, had not the children of Israel done so." From the time of Joshua to the captivity, the people were torn by divisions, a large portion cleaved to idols, and did not celebrate the feasts of the Lord: and Jeroboam's policy further

¹ See Jour. Sac. Lit., July 1853, p. 399. ² Westminster Review, vol. xviii. p. 36.

disturbed the religious unity, as he indeed altered the time of the celebration of this feast. But now again, as in the time of Joshua, the people were of one mind in this matter. A parallel case is that in 2 Kings xxiii. 22, with respect to the Passover. The celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles in the time of Solomon, is mentioned in 2 Chron. viii. 13.¹

Without dwelling further on this subject, or adverting to other ordinances having a similar object, it must be apparent that no memorials could better subserve their purpose than these annual celebrations and reunions of families and tribes at the national sanctuary—the centre of all authority and influence, civil and sacred. Nor could anything have been better adapted for the conservation of the national unity, and therewith, the remembrance of the past.

But not only these and other special ordinances, the entire Israelitish polity was founded on, and was indeed a direct acknowledgement of, the historical character of the acts and events recorded in the Pentateuch. And this holds true, not only in the case of sacred rights and privileges, but also as regards those of a civil character, as for instance, the original distribution and the tenure of landed property, and other matters about which men are in general careful, whatever may be their indifference as to the concerns and authority attaching to merely religious subjects, and which were entirely regulated by the principles laid down in the Pentateuch. How otherwise than as in accordance with some original institution account for the anomalous condition of one tribe—that of Levi, with respect to their non-participation with the others in the landed property of the country? The very position of this tribe constituted itself, indeed, a living memorial of the Mosaic legislation.

But, without entering into further particulars, the entire legislation of the Pentateuch, peculiar, and in some cases exceedingly onerous, as it undoubtedly was, constituted, indeed, a monument to the truth of its history more remarkable than anything that can be produced in attestation of any other facts of early times, or even more recent occurrences. And add to this, that the whole subsequent Hebrew literature assumes the historical truth of the Pentateuch; and through-

¹ Further on this point, see above, p. 256.

out the numerous references made to the origin and early fortunes of the nation, there is no trace whatever of any variation from the Mosaic accounts, and, indeed, not much supplemental information whatever as to those early periods. In short, the dependence of the subsequent Hebrew writers on the Pentateuch is of the most marked kind, both as regards its genuineness and credibility ; as it was, indeed, the sole and reliable source whence they drew their materials when referring to those times, as may be seen from several of the Psalms, and also from 1 Chron., chap. i.

All these memorials respecting the origin of the nation, and of its peculiar polity, were rendered still more impressive by the oral explanations which parents were expressly commanded to impart to their children, in reply to the inquiries naturally called forth on their witnessing the practices enjoined (Deut. vi. 20-25). How much this operated in keeping up the remembrance of the great events of their early history appears from the testimony of the Psalmist : " We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old : how thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them : how thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out " (Ps. xlv. 1, 2).

ii. The means used to insure the preservation and integrity of the record itself, and to keep alive an acquaintance with its contents, next demand attention.

Far superior to that of any other memorial, in point both of certainty and completeness, is the evidence derived from the existence of such a work as the Pentateuch itself, to the reality of the facts therein recorded. Time, with its disturbing influences, would gradually obscure the testimony of the other monuments, however well fitted they might originally have been for keeping up the remembrance of particular events, but documentary evidence carries with it its own interpretation, so long as the language in which it is written is understood. Testimony of this kind assumes, indeed, a special importance when, as was the case here, suitable means were adopted for the preservation of the document, and insuring a publicity for, and a continued acquaintance with, its contents.

For securing the safety of the Pentateuch, it was specially committed by its author to the keeping of the priests, with express directions that it should be deposited in or by the side of the Ark of the Covenant (Deut. xxxi. 25, 26), which was itself, as already remarked, an important testimony to the Sinaitic legislation. Every security was thus taken to guard against the dangers to which, before the multiplication of copies, every literary production was necessarily exposed. A solemn charge was given to the representatives of the people,—the priests and the elders of Israel (ver. 9),—as to the custody of the work. It was to be viewed as a public national record, and as such it was solemnly committed to the nation, who were thus made responsible for its integrity and safety.

Further, for making known the contents of this important document, and also for adding to the security of the text, by a direct reference to the duly authenticated codex, there was a provision that, on the institution of a monarchy in Israel, a form of government which the law, indeed, anticipated, while in one respect it disapproved of it, the king, on his accession to the throne, should transcribe, for his own use, a copy of the Pentateuch, from the autograph in the keeping of the priests, and that he should read therein all the days of his life (Deut. xvii. 18). And, for more general publicity, it was enacted that, at the Feast of Tabernacles in the year of release, a septennial occurrence, the law should be openly read in the audience of all the people (Deut. xxxi. 10, 11).

Still a far more successful instrument, both for preserving the Pentateuch and making known its contents, was found in its own peculiar character, and particularly in the fact, that it embodied as well the law as the history of the nation. Even as a history of the origin and remarkable growth of the Israelitish community, such a work must have appealed to the most common feelings of patriotism, and excited interest, and a desire to be acquainted with its contents. But unquestionably it is in its character of a statute-book, regulating and defining all questions of public and private right and obligation, and so with regard to matters affecting all classes and interests in the community, that the Pentateuch would be best known. The Priests and Levites, for example, must study its contents, in order that they might be able to

comply with the numerous and minute regulations respecting sacrifices, as also the other duties which they were called upon to perform. So likewise, in the case of all other public officers, judges, and magistrates. And, on the other hand, the people themselves could have been no less interested in this great national document, inasmuch as it was in fact the charter of all their privileges, and embodied, as it were, the very title-deeds of their territorial possessions, and expressly defined the allotments of the several tribes and families.

How carefully the Israelites attended to all such matters, will appear from the notice of the purchase by Jeremiah of a field, where mention is made of the formalities observed on the occasion, —the subscribing and sealing of the evidence “according to the law and custom” (Jer. xxxii. 10). No less observable was the care with which they attended to their genealogical registers, the earliest portions of which were engrossed in the Pentateuch. On the return from captivity, the priests were required to give indubitable evidence of their descent from Aaron, otherwise they were not permitted to resume their office (Ezra ii. 62). Nor was this exactness in tracing their genealogies confined merely to the priests, it extended to all the members of the community, to all of whom the loss of such evidence brought serious inconveniences (Ezra ii. 59).

In every point of view, then, the Pentateuch appealed strongly to the national and individual mind, and in those particular aspects which, as respect rights, properties, and other material interests, affect all men. There was thus, in the complex character of the Pentateuch, and especially in its reference to present and temporal matters, a power remarkably adapted for securing its preservation in its original integrity, and also for promoting and maintaining an acquaintance with its contents, through an interest which would have been altogether wanting, or only partially drawn forth, had the work been of a more simple character, and concerned only with spiritual and eternal things.

In entire accordance with what may be inferred from such considerations as these, is the fact, already fully established, of a very close and intimate acquaintance with the contents of the Pentateuch, from the time of its composition throughout all the periods of Hebrew history. Even had the evidence

which can be adduced on this point been altogether wanting, there would be really nothing to invalidate the conclusions now arrived at ; while, again, the fact that evidence of this kind does exist, and in such fulness, affords a conclusive proof, apart entirely from other testimony, that the Pentateuch must have been received by the Hebrew nation, from the time of its composition, in the character in which it presents itself to the reader. Its reception in a new light at an after period was a matter utterly impossible. This must be evident from various considerations connected with its character and contents, if only from the unmistakable assumption, that it plainly purported to be known and recognised as the foundation of the national history and law. A record such as this, plainly professing to be a narrative of much that the Israelites were conversant with, or had experienced at a particular period in their history, and the knowledge of which must have been kept alive throughout all succeeding generations by oral tradition, by regularly continued ordinances and customs, and above all, professedly by the existence of this document itself, could not be received for the first time at any period subsequent to that of Moses ; and still less would it have been accepted by his contemporaries were it other than a true narrative of the events which occurred, as attested by their own experience.

The very character, then, of the work, proving that it must have been known from the time at which it purports to have been written, and publicly committed to the Israelitish people ; and confirmed as this is by external testimony, and the additional fact, that it was the composition of the Law-giver himself, and owned as such by his contemporaries, who had sufficient information to judge correctly of its character, are indisputable testimonies to the literal accuracy of the history, the only point now particularly under consideration. Indeed, any other supposition is entirely out of the question, and must lead to conclusions altogether inadmissible. First, it must, on such a supposition, be assumed that the book of the law, written by Moses, and committed by him to the priests, and otherwise carefully guarded, perished ; and next, that another book, of very doubtful authenticity, and by an unknown author or authors, who must have lived at a much later period, was surreptitiously substituted in its place ; and al-

though the account thus given of the transactions of the Mosaic age differed widely from the truth, or at least was highly exaggerated, yet it was received as the genuine work of Moses, and an authentic record of his acts and legislation, without a doubt being ever uttered on the subject by the Jewish community. From such conclusions as these, opposed as they are both to reason and experience, there is no escape but by accepting the Pentateuch in the character in which it presents itself, and in which it has been acknowledged from the time of its composition by those who were fully qualified to judge of its claims.

CHAPTER V.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PENTATEUCH AS REGARDS, ii. THE MIRACULOUS, PROVED FROM THE SUCCESS OF THE MOSAIC MISSION.

Bryant, *A Dissertation upon the Divine Mission of Moses: Obs. upon the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians*, Pt. iv., pp. 175-274. Lond., 1810.
Graves, *Lectures*. Pt. i., Lect. v., pp. 124-143.

THE considerations urged in the preceding section in connexion with the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and the reception of that work by the Israelitish nation in the character which it claims, apply equally to the miraculous as to the ordinary incidents of the history, and conclusively establish the divine authority of the legislator, and consequently of his writings, as the authentic record of that legislation. For if the acts of Moses were such as they are described in the Pentateuch, and they could not have been otherwise if that be a contemporaneous history, they could only have been the results of a divine interposition, for they were utterly beyond the capacity of any human agent. So much is this felt by those who deny the credibility of the record, that their only resource is to assume that it is of a much later date,—that its accounts have been largely exaggerated and mixed up with the mythical. The vindication of the Mosaic authorship of the work at once establishes its authenticity, and accordingly, the divine authority of its author. But it is unnecessary for the present argument to assume that anything even approaching to this has been substantiated. Indeed, the preceding investigations would not be altogether valueless, had their only result been to establish the fact of the existence of such a person as Moses, and the reality of some

of the acts ascribed to him. This is certainly the lowest possible ground that can be taken, or be reasonably desired by the most incredulous with respect to the Hebrew records. For whatever allegations there may be as to the mythical, in the account of the origin of the nation, and of its peculiar economy, there can be no question that it must involve some elements of truth. This is all that is necessary to contend for as a preliminary to the argument from the success of the Mosaic mission, and the proof thereby afforded of its divine character.

That the Jews now dispersed over the earth are descended from the patriarch Abraham, and that at a former period of their history they formed an independent community under a peculiar system of laws in Palestine, are facts which none will dispute. But none of these facts is less open to question than that previous to their taking possession of that land they resided for some time in Egypt or on its confines, and that they left it under the leadership of Moses. So conclusively are these and other particulars of the early history of the Hebrews established, on evidence apart from the Pentateuch, that even among the most sceptical, there is an acquiescence in the general credibility of some of the leading statements of that work. Selecting, however, one particular, as the Exodus, with regard to which, as an historical fact, it may be said, there is no dispute; this it will be found is so connected with other facts, and gives rise to so many questions both as to the antecedent history of the people, the occasion of their connexion with Egypt, and their position at the particular epoch when that connexion terminated, as to involve in one way or another the entire history of the Pentateuch, and so requires an explanation consistent with the other acknowledged facts of the case. It would be the same with regard to any other starting point, as the descent into Egypt, which must equally rest on some traditions,¹ if the whole Pentateuch be not a romance, notwithstanding its reception as

¹ Bunsen, who takes such liberty with the chronological data of the early Hebrew history, has "no hesitation in admitting the personality and power of Joseph, and the immigration of the sons of Jacob, about 70 persons, with their servants, as historical facts."—*Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 178.

authentic by the nation who must have had some knowledge or traditions of their own history.

But to revert to the Exodus; if this be admitted to contain an historical element, it involves the necessity of some historical basis for the Biblical account of the isolated position of the Israelites in Egypt, seeing that whatever may have been the period of their sojourn, they fully maintained their national individuality. A question then arises, How did their connexion with Egypt terminate? and by what means were they on their departure thence put into possession of new territories which, from the relations then subsisting, must, if it is evident, have been inhabited by other tribes, from whom the Israelites kept as separate as previously from the Egyptians. These are first principles, entirely independent of the amount of credibility which may be attributed to the Pentateuch. But it is no less evident that if the accounts in that record did not, in some degree at least, accord with the traditions which must have existed regarding those events, it never would have been received by the nation, either in the Mosaic age, or at any subsequent period, as an historical composition. Nor further, is it possible that, however long the interval may have been between the Exodus and the composition of its history, admitting it not to be contemporaneous, the facts could have been materially distorted, on account both of their nature and of the means employed to impress them on the popular memory.

These presumptions in favour of at least the general trustworthiness of the history of the Exodus, are not at all diminished by the fact that some of the conclusions arrived at on this subject by those who refuse to accept the Biblical account, differ from one another, and from the views set forth in that record, to a degree which shows that there must be grievous mistakes somewhere, and that if there be any truth whatever in any of these conclusions, the Israelites knew nothing whatever of their own history. To give only one example; Lepsius,¹ a distinguished Egyptologist, finds that only 90 years intervened from the immigration of Jacob and his family into Egypt, to the Exodus of Moses, while Bunsen²

¹ Letters from Egypt, E. T., p. 475. Lond., 1853. ² Ibid, Note by Bunsen, p. 476.

makes the sojourn of Israel in Egypt to have lasted 1440 years. Conclusions like these are obviously not of a character to diminish confidence in the sacred history, or to conduce to the rejection of a record authenticated by the national voice in favour of theories which have no better foundation than conjectures, some of which are of the most extravagant character, as must be evident, were it only from such conflicting results.

If these and similar considerations, apart entirely from the conclusions already arrived at with respect to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, justify, and even necessitate an assent to its general credibility, particularly to that portion of it which relates to the history of one so eminent as the national law-giver and deliverer from Egypt,¹ the successful accomplishment of his mission furnishes convincing evidence of the nature of the authority with which he acted. The difficulties of the undertaking were such that ordinary resources would be utterly unavailing, and the question then arises, Whence was the power which effected such results?

§ 1. *The Difficulties of the Mosaic Mission.*

On any view that may be formed of the condition of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their relation to the dominant power, there were circumstances in their case which made their removal thence to Canaan an undertaking of great difficulty. Indeed, in any circumstances, it would prove no easy matter to transport such a population as the Israelites must, on any estimate, have amounted to at the time, to a locality, situated as that of their destination was with respect to Egypt, even assuming that their discipline was of the highest order, and that no opposition was to be offered to their leaving Egypt, or to their entrance into their new home. Of course the difficulties must be greatly increased, if the conditions be found to be directly the reverse of all these suppositions.

1. Considering the matter more particularly, there were,

¹ Knobel: "Moses must be regarded as the deliverer and founder of his people, and as the author of the peculiar Israelitish religion, polity and legisla-

tion, at least as regards the fundamental and essential principles." Die Bücher, Ex. u. Lev. erklärt, p. xxiii.

it is conceivable, various political difficulties with regard to the Exodus, which it is of importance to take into account.

That the position of the Israelites in Egypt immediately before the Exodus was not one of supremacy, or even of independence, cannot admit of a doubt. Had it even been attended with anything like comfort, there would naturally have been little inducement for a people so circumstanced to abandon the fruitful valley of the Nile in search of new and uninviting settlements. There evidently must have been some extreme pressure before a whole population, and not merely a colony, could be induced to leave Egypt, as the Israelites must have done. But even supposing that, under some impulse, they were induced to emigrate, and return to the land of their fathers' sojourn, the consent of other parties must also be obtained. Whatever may have been their previous relation to the Egyptians, it is in the highest degree probable, looking only to general considerations, apart entirely from the Scripture testimony, which is exceedingly explicit, and no less consistent on these points, that at the time of the Exodus, the Israelites had been reduced to a state of slavery. This would satisfactorily account for their desire to leave a country which in itself has ever been a centre of attraction to the inhabitants of the desert; but it would at the same time raise serious obstacles to their departure thence. The presence and services of this large alien population, under the rule of the Pharaohs, so intent on the erection of massive structures, which required an enormous expenditure of human labour, would be of too much account to be readily thrown away, or surrendered, even on strong and reiterated requests.¹

It has, indeed, always been a matter of great difficulty to induce a community to manumit their slaves. The sacrifice is one which demands so much self-denial, that it is only after a long, and sometimes fierce struggle, that an end is put to this unnatural mastery of one portion of humanity over another. And if, as exemplified, even in modern instances, it

¹ Kalisch: "It was a point of national pride with the Egyptian despots, to execute their huge monuments and edifices by foreign workmen; and on one of the majestic temples which the great conqueror Sesostris erected, he ordered the inscription to be conspicuously engraved—'No native Egyptian has been employed in constructing this building'" (Diod. i. 56).—*Com. on Exodus*, p. 9.

requires strong and well sustained efforts to emancipate a population reduced to a state of vassalage or serfdom, the difficulties, assuredly, were not less, but incomparably greater, in connection with the liberation of the Israelites from the thralldom of the Egyptians. At all events, the case, as admitted by Knobel,¹ was such as precludes the supposition that the departure from Egypt was through a voluntary act of the governing power, or a ready compliance with any ordinary requests preferred by the enslaved.

It here deserves notice, how consistent the Biblical narrative is with these deductions. So long as Joseph lived, or a grateful recollection of his services survived, the Israelites experienced only kindness from the people in whose land they sojourned. During that period their numbers, as may easily be supposed, increased exceedingly (Ex. i. 7); nor is it difficult to understand how, on any political change, their anomalous position in Egypt would speedily engage the attention of the government (ver. 9), how fear, real or pretended, of a revolt should be made an excuse for abridging their liberties, and turning their services to some account; and how, not satisfied with this, and perhaps also alarmed for the consequences of their rigorous measures, the jealousy of the court should devise further means for checking this growing population. Nor is it less consonant with the lessons of history that the success of this scheme was such, and the services extracted from the Israelites so valuable, that what at first might have been an experiment of state policy, came in time to be viewed as a national and social necessity, which the longer it continued became the more indispensable. This partly explains the persistency of Pharaoh in his refusal to liberate the people, and then his pursuit of the fugitives with a view to reduce them to the servitude whence he had been compelled to release them: "And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people, and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?" (Ex. xiv. 5).

¹ Die Bücher Exodus u. Leviticus erklärt, p. 58. Ewald sees in the departure of the Israelites without the per-

mission or full concurrence of Pharaoh, a ground for the pursuit when he saw them in difficulties. Geschichte, ii. 92.

This reflection is exceedingly natural, as marking the estimate of the loss sustained on being deprived of such services.

2. The social difficulties which had to be encountered, or those arising from the condition of the people whose deliverance was to be effected preparatory to the further purposes regarding them, were in their own place no less formidable than those just adverted to.

It is easy to conceive what must have been the spirit and disposition of a people inured to the treatment which, there is every reason to believe, the Israelites experienced during the latter part of their sojourn in Egypt. The state of mind invariably engendered by slavery, and which is utterly subversive of all noble aspirations, was, in their case, greatly aggravated, no doubt, by the character of the country, the fruitfulness of the soil furnishing a ready supply to the mere animal wants. It is evident from this and other considerations, that there was in the people themselves little to second the efforts of any one who meditated their deliverance. A servile spirit will risk little to recover liberty, nor submit to much inconvenience in order to secure it when obtained. Indeed, in such a case, not only was there every thing wanting in the disposition of the Israelites fitted to strengthen the hands and sustain the spirit of their deliverer, but, on the contrary, their entire frame of mind tended positively to damp the most patriotic ardour.

Moses, at an earlier period of his life, offered to be the leader and avenger of his oppressed brethren, but his overtures were rudely and contemptuously repulsed; while the result, personally, of his interference was, that he exposed himself to imminent danger, to avoid which he was forced into exile. Now that he again appeared upon the scene, it was, from the nature of things, not at all probable that his second reception would in any way be more favourable than the first. The afflictions of the Israelites had in the interval greatly increased, which circumstance may have induced a disposition to embrace whatever promised them relief; but the position of Moses himself had meanwhile undergone a change, which apparently greatly diminished his prospect of success. It is exceedingly improbable that those who would not tolerate the interposition of the Egyptian courtier, the son of Pharaoh's daughter, would readily commit themselves to the outlaw

from Midian. True, according to the history, the elders and princes of the people at first welcomed the intimations of Moses and Aaron, that they had been expressly sent by God for their deliverance; but these feelings were quite altered on the very appearance of difficulties. The first refusal of Pharaoh to comply with the demands of Moses, and which led to the people's labours being increased, was sufficient to make them upbraid their previously welcomed deliverers, as the authors of their new oppression (Exod. v. 21). To such a degree did these feelings take possession of the popular mind, that the effect upon Moses himself was any thing but favourable to a determined perseverance in his mission. How exceedingly natural is the language in which he expresses his despondency to the Lord: "Behold the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips?" (Exod. vi. 12).

There was thus a strong combination of circumstances adverse to the success of the Mosaic mission, even at its very outset, not the least of which, as may be supposed, was the disposition of the people, whom no considerations, it would appear, could rouse to those high and determined resolves which stake all for liberty, and which accordingly, on occasions seemingly the most desperate, have often succeeded in securing it. But even should all these difficulties be successfully overcome, there were others of a no less formidable character beyond them.

3. The economical difficulties, as they may be termed, which must have followed if Pharaoh had acceded to the request to allow the Israelites to depart peaceably out of Egypt, or whatever might have been the mode of their deliverance, must also be added to the preceding.

These certainly were such as must have deterred any but an enthusiast from engaging in his own strength in so hopeless an enterprise. Among the questions which must have been considered by every man of sane mind relying only on ordinary resources, one undoubtedly would be, Whither he was to conduct this immense,¹ undisciplined horde when

¹ Ewald adopts the number of armed men in the Israelitish host (600,000) as authentic, but holds that this included the Midianites and other Arab tribes, who joined Moses. *Geschichte*, ii. 61.

liberated; what territories in the vicinity of Egypt were likely to furnish them peaceably with an asylum, or promised an easy conquest to a people unskilled in war? Supposing the national traditions pointed to some previous connexion with Palestine, marking it out as their future home,¹ was the state of that country at the time such as gave prospect of its being easily taken possession of by these invaders? But there was still another question immediately, perhaps, of a more urgent character, How, in the meantime, was a population so numerous and advancing on such an enterprise to be provisioned? Proceeding out of Egypt in a northern direction, the Israelites must force a passage through the territories of the warlike Philistines on the shores of the Mediterranean, or avoiding this immediate, and in the circumstances, unequal encounter, were it only for their being encumbered with women and children, they must be content to traverse the inhospitable desert, and submit to privations for which, especially after leaving such a country as Egypt, in every way the reverse of the wilderness, they could not have been otherwise than ill prepared.²

Were there nothing more than the providing the necessary supplies of food and water for such a host, so situated, for however short a period, and supposing every other circumstance favourable, the people themselves readily submitting to their leader, and cheerfully accepting all manner of privations, and braving every difficulty, this task alone was beyond any ordinary human effort. It is thus Robinson expresses himself on this subject: "How, in these wide deserts, this host of more than two millions of souls, having no traffic nor intercourse with the surrounding hordes, could find supplies of food and water for their support without a constant miracle, I, for one, am unable to divine. Yet among them we read only of occasional longings and complaints; while the tribes that now roam over the same regions, numbering scarcely as many thousands, are exposed to famine and privation of every kind; and at the best, obtain only a meagre and precarious subsistence."³

¹ Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 84.

³ *Bib. Researches*, ii. 195.

² Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, i. 53.

Assuming, however, that they had safely passed through the wilderness, how were they to be put into possession of a permanent habitation? Was there a probability that they would be received by the original inhabitants of Canaan as friends, or failing this, that they could enter it as invaders? These and other considerations must have been fully weighed by any one who, on his own responsibility, or what he might regard as the pressing demands of patriotism, but trusting to merely political expedients, should undertake the deliverance of his brethren from their bondage in Egypt; and they deserve no less careful examination on the part of those who would form a proper estimate of the character of the work in which Moses engaged, and which he so successfully accomplished. This was indeed an undertaking where partial success only involved him, it must be apparent, in new and greater perplexities. Internal troubles, or foreign complications, or such other conceivable causes as are suggested by those who reject the Biblical narrative, might induce Pharaoh to release his bondsmen in order to rid himself of a dangerous population. And it might be further conceded, without at all diminishing the force of the present argument, that when once restored to their civil rights the spirit of freemen was generated in the people themselves, notwithstanding that they had been so crushed by oppression; but what charms, it may be asked, could extract bread from the sandy desert, or water from the flinty rock, or by any economy so multiply the scanty and precarious supplies of what is so graphically described in the song of Moses, as "the waste, howling wilderness," (Deut. xxxii. 10), and which in themselves must, as attested by all travellers, have been utterly inadequate even for the briefest period, to a population such as, from the nature of the case, certainly left Egypt under the guidance of Moses.

This class of difficulties may be regarded as apparently the most insuperable of all, at least, of a physical character; but to judge the matter aright, all the preceding obstacles must be viewed together; and in addition to these, other difficulties of a moral nature, arising partly from the feelings and disposition of Moses himself, as deduced from the particular circumstances of his history, but more especially from the nature of the mission to which he was called, and of which

the Exodus formed only a preliminary, and by no means the most considerable part of the undertaking.

§ 2. *The Circumstances under which the Mosaic Mission was undertaken.*

There are here two things to be considered: the circumstances under which, as affecting Moses himself, his mission was undertaken; and next, the means which may have been available, or which were actually adopted, for the removal of the several difficulties of the case, and for securing the success of the enterprise, both in its physical and moral aspect.

1. The circumstances of Moses himself form an important element in the present inquiry, as to the means on which he relied, or which may have conduced to his success. Some of the difficulties which the undertaking presented, though unquestionably only the smallest portion, might be surmounted by a sanguine and ardent spirit in the deliverer. In this there might be found a sufficient cause to account, at least, for his undertaking such a work, although, in the circumstances, the utmost enthusiasm could contribute but little to effect it. But, in the present instance, even this important element was wanting. Besides the various difficulties already enumerated, there were personal and private hindrances which, if any reliance can be placed upon the history—and there is no reason to question its credibility in a matter of this kind—affected Moses himself, and, humanly speaking, greatly disqualified him for the work.

Without unduly drawing upon the authority of the simple narrative of the private life of Moses, contained in the Pentateuch, it is very evident that at one time his temperament must have been such as would readily prompt him to the present task, and greatly sustain him amid its difficulties. In early life, it would seem, he had cherished some purpose of this kind; his only call to it being apparently his strong patriotic sympathies. It requires no stretch of imagination to discover the warmth of heart of this Hebrew, then in the prime of manhood, and the circumstances which contributed to impart to him this ardour. His remarkable preservation in infancy from the death decreed by the oppressor of his

people, his restoration to the care of a mother, who had already, by her perilous and indefatigable efforts to evade the law of the tyrant, given evidence of the strongest faith in the destiny of this child, and who could not fail to instil into his opening mind the traditions of his nation; his subsequent education at the Pharaonic court, where ease and honour, and instruction in Egyptian wisdom, served only to develope more strongly his Hebrew spirit, by the contrast which his own case presented to that of his brethren; all these would have strongly urged him to undertake their deliverance.

Nor is it more difficult to apprehend the natural effects of the reception he met with from those whom he desired to benefit on a mind so sensitive and generous. His very first advances were coldly, nay more, contemptuously rejected: "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?" (Exod. ii. 14) was a question such as might be expected to come from one who, in the midst of a common tyranny exercised by a foreign power, did not himself hesitate to tyrannise over a weaker brother;¹ and though, no doubt, there were noble exceptions to the dastardly conduct thus manifested, yet there was here sufficient indication of the nature of the reception which Moses, or any one in his position, might anticipate in his undertaking. This repulse induced, to all appearance, and as was very natural, a feeling of the deepest disgust; and this, no less than the fear of the king, whose wrath he provoked, by slaying the Egyptian whom he found ill-treating a Hebrew, led to Moses' exile from Egypt; for that there was some feeling of this kind appears from the fact, that during his absence he kept up no communication with his brethren, and was entirely ignorant of the changes which had taken place in their condition, and in the political affairs of Egypt. It was evidently not the mere distance between that country and his new abode, but some other considerations, as a cessation of interest in the concerns of his compatriots, that kept the exile of Midian in such profound ignorance of what was transacting amongst them.

¹ "How exactly this is true wherever slavery prevails, they who are most conversant with it will be best able to declare. Even to this day, in every slave-plantation in the west, in every slave-

bazaar and compound in the east, the cruelest task-masters are the slaves themselves over their fellow-slaves."—*Osburn, Israel in Egypt*, p. 229.

With the view also, it may be, of forgetting his people, and breaking off all connexion with Israel and with Egypt, Moses allied himself in marriage to another nation, and as further showing the absence of all political schemes and aspirations, he married into the peaceful family of a priest.¹ "And Moses was content to dwell with the man," (Exod. ii. 21,) and to engage in such occupations as his new position supplied. Far removed from the struggles and disappointments of political life, he was satisfied with the quiet, unambitious pursuits of a pastoral avocation, though it was no Israelitish flocks he tended. That he still cherished, however, something of the spirit of the exile and of the olden times, is proved from the name of his first-born son: "He called his name Gershom; for he said I have been a stranger in a strange land," (Exod. ii. 22).

Now if Moses' own temperament at this time was not greatly conducive to the success of his mission, however it may have been undertaken, as little would that success be furthered by his new connexion. The domestic ties formed in Midian were found to be such a hindrance to him on the way to Egypt that he was forced to send back his family to his father-in-law; nor was it until he had led forth his people from Egypt that they rejoined him in the desert, (Exod. iv. 24-26; xviii. 1-6). To whatever cause may be ascribed the neglect of the fundamental rite of the Hebrew faith, the circumcision of his son, whether to indifference on the part of Moses himself, and so affording further evidence of a desire to be separated from his nation, or to objections on the part of Zipporah, there was manifestly a want of sympathy on her part with the mission of her husband to Egypt, which called her away from her native scenes and associations. This was a feeling in the circumstances exceedingly natural, and the notice of it is confirmatory of the historian's truthfulness and accuracy. Whether or not the alliance proved unfavourable to the authority of Moses with his countrymen, it certainly gave rise to feelings

¹ Ewald admits that although this is mentioned only by the *third* narrator, it has unquestionably an historical foundation, but he maintains that the alli-

ance had a greater political importance than would at first sight appear.—Geschichte, ii. 57-59.

of jealousy and disaffection amongst his nearest kindred which no length of time served apparently to remove. (Num. xii. 1).

Neither the acts of Moses nor his alliances were thus adapted in a political aspect for promoting his mission to his countrymen and to their oppressors; while at the same time they decidedly manifested a disposition utterly alien to the voluntary adoption of such a project. This is not only in entire consistency with, but serves also to account for, the unwillingness ascribed to Moses in accepting the divine commission with which he was to be intrusted. How natural, though perverse, is the conduct attributed to him! He who formerly ran, though unsent, now refused to go when authoritatively bidden; yet such is human nature, after sickening disappointments, especially in efforts directed to the good of those who, instead of expressing any grateful acknowledgement, view only with indifference or distrust, the labours undertaken, or the sacrifices made on their behalf. The effect on the mind of Moses is apparent from the particulars already noticed, but still more in the objections which he urged both as to the difficulties of, and his own disqualifications for, the service to which he was now called, none of which would appear to have occurred to him when formerly, in his own strength, he attempted to redress the wrongs of his people. "And Moses said unto God, who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" (Exod. iii. 11). This self-disparagement was without doubt sincere, though persisted in to a degree which made it a most criminal unbelief, as if his natural infirmities could not be remedied by the Almighty Creator, (Exod. iv. 10-14,) either directly or by immediately conjoining with him in the work other suitable instruments.

One conclusion at least may be drawn from Moses' hesitancy, to the effect that he must have narrowly scrutinized the nature of his call, and that when he did comply with it, it was only on irresistible convictions of its authority. He must have thoroughly satisfied himself that it was no dream of a distempered fancy, no airy imagination, no tempter or evil power that was thus dealing with him. His previous experience would have led him carefully to consider what constituted a divine call; and now there was occasion for putting

to the test whatever he had learned amid the busy scenes of life, or in the solitude of the desert. Moses had doubtless means of assuring himself that the sight which he turned aside to contemplate, (Exod. iii. 2, 3,) was no mere optical illusion, and that the words in which he was addressed by name were no mockery of the ear. Of the Being who there revealed himself as the God of his fathers, he could entertain no reasonable doubt; for he must have heard of similar manifestations in former days, and also of the purpose of the present visit.

Should it be objected that the evidence presented to Moses, though sufficient for his own conviction, suffered a material diminution in his report of it to others, and thus depended on the credulity or credibility of the original witness, this were to overlook two important considerations. First, the signs which Moses was empowered to perform evinced that he was invested with more than ordinary authority. These sufficiently vouched for the truth of his statements even prior to the Exodus. Secondly, there is that in the case itself which so far from diminishing the testimony of Moses as to the nature of his call, serves to enhance its value throughout all time. This is the success of the mission, shown if by nothing else, in the preservation of those whom he delivered from Egypt, as a distinct people to this day.

2. The means of securing the success of the Mosaic mission next require consideration. Some of the difficulties of the undertaking have been already noticed. They might be disregarded by an enthusiast, but only to his certain discomfiture. Such, however, was not the character of Moses when called to this service; while certainly the aspect of affairs, viewing it most favourably, presented little encouragement to any one who could calmly contemplate it. Supposing, however, that a person of this description ventured, in his own strength, on the task at all, there would be little difficulty in determining generally the course he would adopt. He would, as far as possible, avail himself of force or stratagem, or, if opportunity offered, a combination of both. But apart from the fact, that the reluctance of Pharaoh to lose the services of the Israelites was by no means the chief difficulty that had to be surmounted, neither violence nor conspiracy afforded much

hope of success to Moses in his peculiar circumstances. He might have attempted something of this kind when, occupying a position of influence in Egypt, and an intimate relation to the court, he first contemplated the miseries under which his brethren groaned, and the bright future which in the Divine promises lay before them; but such expedients were no longer to be thought of.

Moses accordingly resorted to none of the measures which human policy pronounces efficacious, and which experience has often proved successful in resolute hands. He did not attempt to arm and organize his countrymen in order to assert their independence; nor did he enter into a confederacy with surrounding potentates, or the predatory hordes of the desert, often the great terror of the Egyptians exposed to their inroads in the district where the Israelites dwelt, in order to bring about a complication such as was dreaded by Pharaoh, when he first resorted to measures of severity with the dwellers in Goshen: "And he said unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land" (Exod. i. 9, 10). Nor did he attempt to form a party, disposed to second his demands, and secure the accomplishment of his designs. Such a party, it would appear, did eventually arise, even among Pharaoh's courtiers, not, however, through any contrivance of Moses, but moved simply by a regard to the public good, to which, as they saw, grievous injury was done by the obduracy of the sovereign, under the judgments which were laying waste the land: "And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, How long shall this man be a snare unto us? Let the men go that they may serve the Lord their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?" (Exod. x. 7).

For the adoption of such means, even if so disposed, Moses had obviously no facilities. His connexion with Egypt had been suddenly and completely broken off, while his long exile and entire ignorance of the state of matters there after his flight precluded him from seizing on what might appear a favourable opportunity for urging his request, or finding any to support it. And so, too, as regards any reliance on foreign

aid. Trusting, however, to Him whose messenger he felt himself to be, and without any elaborate schemes or preparations, the shepherd of Midian appeared before Pharaoh and demanded the release of his brethren. The *rod of God*, and the wonders which it empowered him to work, are the only means mentioned in the history ; and they are, in the circumstances, the only conceivable means at his disposal. It is at least incumbent on the impugnors of the Biblical statements to furnish a hypothesis equally probable. To allege, with Ewald, that the power of Egypt had at this time been greatly reduced by a series of calamities, as he would represent the plagues, and that Moses, assisted by various Arabian tribes descended from Abraham, a notice of which he detects in the alliance with Jethro, seized the opportunity to escape with his people into the wilderness.¹ But even admitting that such was the case, it goes only a short way to explain matters. The success of Moses, without supernatural aid, would in fact be a greater wonder than any miracle recorded in the Pentateuch. Reduce that success to the lowest dimensions, and at the same time increase the material and political resources at his disposal in a corresponding ratio, and still the means, as will be shown in the sequel, would be utterly disproportioned to the end, and instead of being attended with success, his mission must have inevitably proved a failure.

That the miracles of Moses were realities, and no mere deceptions, or fortuitous concurrences in nature, is placed beyond a doubt by their number, variety, and magnitude ; but still more by the effects which they produced on minds quite indisposed to yield to a partial conviction, or indeed to any moral evidence, until absolutely forced. But the miracles which preceded the Exodus deserve special consideration, from the correspondence which they present with the controversy for the settlement of which they were employed, and which, as carried on by Moses and Pharaoh, respectively represented God, the supreme Creator, and the opposing world-power, which constitutes the various forms of heathenism. The acts themselves furnish a sure criterion of their reality. They were not, as already shown,² mere prodigies or arbitrary displays of power, which might confute without convincing, and crush

¹ Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 61.

² See above, pp. 77-82.

error without establishing the opposite truth. On the contrary, they had a moral and religious aspect, proving that the God of the Hebrews was the only living and true God. They were certainly of a character which palpably distinguished them from the jugglery of the magicians of Egypt, and convinced all of the existence and the power of the true God as above nature, and distinct from the objects of idolatrous worship. But these and subsequent acts of Moses, at the Red Sea¹ and in the wilderness, are still living facts, existing in their continued effects on the world's history; and let men attempt to explain them as they may, the results, both material and moral, are just as extraordinary as the causes to which they are assigned; but would be much more so, and indeed altogether unaccountable, if they had originated without an adequate cause.

§ 3. *The Success of the Mosaic Mission.*

The Mosaic mission was in every point of view eminently successful. It embraced results of the utmost magnitude; some of which may, in one respect, have been only temporary, but others extend to the present time, and in comparison with which the Exodus itself and its attendant circumstances occupy but a very secondary place.

1. The success which directly attended the mission of Moses to his brethren, and to their Egyptian oppressors, may be gathered from two remarkable facts recorded in the Pentateuch, and attested by such collateral evidence as places them beyond all dispute.

The first is the deliverance from Egypt itself, and its grievous servitude. It has been already shown how many

¹ On the theory that the passage of the Red Sea was effected at an ebb-tide, one difficulty is, to account how such a multitude could cross in so short a time as such a state of the tide afforded, and by so narrow a passage as is alone fordable on these occasions. To obviate this, J. D. Michaelis supposes that the wind prevented the reflux, so that there was no flood between the two ebbs, which

thus allowed nineteen hours; but Eichhorn and Bauer think it more probable that only a small part of the Israelites crossed, the greater number having been already pasturing their cattle on the eastern side. Knobel, however, considers it an easier solution, to suppose that the number was not nearly so great as given in the narrative. Die BB. Ex. u. Lev., p. 137.

obstacles were interposed to Pharaoh's peaceably acceding to the demand for the Israelites' release. Nothing but a refusal could, indeed, be expected. The idea of such a sacrifice of national property as was involved in the manumission of so numerous a body of slaves, would not for a moment be entertained. No appeals to a sense of justice would obtain a hearing at a court which had hesitated at no measures, however unnatural and severe, to reduce this alien population to slavery, and retain them in it. Force, it is evident, must therefore be resorted to; and accordingly it is incumbent on those who reject the account given in the Pentateuch, to explain what power adequate for that purpose was at the disposal of Moses. However, as the matter stood, there was nothing but repeated refusals to the demand, until the constantly increasing pressure by which it was accompanied extorted some partial and temporary submissions. It may be noticed, as illustrating the difficulties of the case, that the request made to Pharaoh was at first of the lowest kind, being merely for a journey of three days into the wilderness, to allow the people to attend to religious duties (Exod. v. 3); and it was only in the course of the negotiation that the demand was presented absolutely, and in all its extent. The partial release at first asked was peremptorily refused; yet, in due time, the whole was fully conceded, after an opposition of the most determined kind. Israel's deliverance was complete and unconditional; the people went out of Egypt, carrying with them all their effects.

But a further, and even more striking, proof of the direct success of the mission with which Moses was intrusted, is supplied by the fact of the people's preservation in the wilderness until their entrance into the land of Canaan. That after leaving Egypt the Israelites passed some time in the Arabian desert, is not less certain than the fact of their Egyptian sojourn.¹ It is not questioned, even by the most thorough impugnors of the authenticity of the Mosaic history; for its traces are too deeply impressed on the Hebrew traditions and literature to admit of its rejection, although it has been frequently attempted to cast doubts on the period during which

¹ Stanley:—"As Ewald has well shown, the general truth of the wanderings in the wilderness is an essential preliminary to the whole of the subsequent history of Israel."—*Sinai and Pal.*, p. 24.

that sojourn extended,¹ and other circumstances connected with it. Into an examination of these points, however, it is unnecessary to enter, so far as the present argument is concerned. It is enough to accept the undisputed fact of such a sojourn, without inquiring particularly into its duration. And having this fact, it is also unnecessary to advert to the passage of the Red Sea, or indeed to dwell at any length on the circumstances attending the deliverance from Egypt, further than by remarking, that the cause of rationalism gains nothing by denying the miraculous character of these transactions, so long as the more extended miracles of the wilderness sojourn remain unexplained.

As just remarked, the precise period occupied in the wilderness is of little importance; and yet, from the nature of the case, and the preparations necessary for a successful campaign against the natives of Palestine—for it is not to be supposed that that country was then uninhabited, or in the occupancy of a weak and scattered population—it cannot have been a very brief period. But even were it reduced to the briefest possible stay, the natural productions of the locality could not possibly afford, even for the shortest time, the necessary subsistence to so large an encampment. It is evident, then, that these must have been largely supplemented from some other source. The trade which it is alleged the Israelites may have carried on with the neighbouring tribes could not have furnished anything like the supplies needed in their circumstances; and even still more inadequate is the supposition, that at that time the desert was much more productive than at present,² or that the manna which, according to the Biblical narrative, was so largely supplied throughout the period of wandering, was only a natural production of the locality, although regarded by minds which discerned God, in everyday acts, and in the most common occurrences, as com-

¹ Thus Hitzig would reduce the forty years to four (*Urgeschichte der Philistæer*, p. 174. Leip. 1845), while Von Bohlen (*Genesis*, Einleit. p. lxxv.) would even limit the period to two years.

² So Winer (*Bib. Realwörterbuch*, ii. 708); Ewald (*Geschichte*, ii. 127, 255),

and others. But Stanley, who also holds that there must have been great changes in the productiveness of the desert, adds: "It must be confessed that none of these changes solve the difficulty, though they may mitigate its force."—*Sinai and Pal.*, p. 27.

ing directly from his hand.¹ If the account of the wanderings given in the Pentateuch, as extending to forty years, be accepted, the difficulties of the situation are of course greatly increased; but on any supposition, they are evidently such as can be explained only in the manner stated in the Mosaic narrative, and corroborated by numerous notices in the subsequent Scriptures, or by some other equally miraculous interpositions.

The real difficulties which this stage of the case presented, and the impression which they were fitted to make on any mind which seriously contemplated them, are as naturally as they are forcibly expressed in the reply of Moses to God's promise of providing the people with a supply of flesh for a whole month. "And Moses said, the people among whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh that they may eat a whole month. Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them?—or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?" (Num. xi. 21, 22). The record of this weakness of faith on the part of one who according to the same history had been accustomed to divine interpositions equally remarkable with anything here promised, shows the thorough honesty of the narrator; while it also affords some measure whereby to estimate the extent to which so great a multitude must have been indebted to extraordinary sources for the supply of their daily wants. Had there been anything like a suitable provision of the means of subsistence, either in the desert itself, or obtainable from friendly tribes in the neighbourhood, the above promise would not have been received by Moses with such incredulity as to call forth the rebuke: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand waxed short? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not," (ver. 23).

2. But the success of the Mosaic mission is not to be measured by those more immediate consequences which secured a birth and political standing to the Israelitish community. Their deliverance from Egypt, and preservation in

¹ Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 286. But as Robinson remarks, "Even could it be shown to be the same as the present manna, still a supply of it in sufficient abundance for the daily consumption of two millions of people, would have been no less a miracle." *Bib. Res.* i. 115, 116.

the desert were indubitably wonderful achievements; but there were other and far more important results than civil and political freedom, which must be taken into account, and of which rationalistic theories can afford no explanation, or only such as must be pronounced absolutely preposterous. This is the moral influence which Moses both by his acts and legislation exerted over the people whom he led out of the land of Egypt and conducted through the wilderness.

Of the authority wielded by Moses both as a leader and lawgiver during the wilderness sojourn there is abundant proof. That a spirit of opposition was occasionally manifested need not be denied, but this only brings out more fully the influence so remarkably exercised over a rude and undisciplined people, and in such trying circumstances. Various matters contributed to render it no easy task to reduce to order the Israelites who left Egypt. Their previous habits were far from being favourable to discipline; and to these were now added the inaction attendant on their sojourn in the wilderness, accompanied too, with trials provocative of insubordination. To such a degree on one occasion were the people depressed in view of the difficulties which lay before them, that, on the very borders of the promised inheritance, they determined to abandon its conquest, and, deposing their leader, to retrace their steps to Egypt. Never was the authority of Moses, however, more clearly shown than in this, perhaps, the greatest emergency in his history. Instead of attempting to soothe the wrath and reanimate the spirits of his people, as would have been done by any ordinary leader, Moses pursued a directly opposite course, and such as was naturally fitted still further to madden a people who had already almost broken loose from all restraint. He announced to them that in consequence of the disposition now manifested, their entrance into the promised land should be deferred, and that they must continue in the wilderness and be exposed to all its privations until that rebellious generation entirely perished. The very fact that Moses could so address the people, and particularly the fact of their continuance—whether in accordance with this sentence or not, is immaterial—in the wilderness in circumstances so trying and tantalizing, are unmistakable proofs of the authority he must have exercised.

Then, again, there was their further submission to those peculiar laws and ordinances which Moses established. Here also was manifested a spirit of opposition ; not, however, so much personally to the lawgiver, as to the principles of the theocratic rule, so contrary to the bent of human nature, and the practices with which the people had been familiar in Egypt. But indeed, the whole system was in itself so exceedingly onerous, its regulations so numerous and minute, and the neglect or transgression of any of its requirements was attended with such penalties and inconveniences, that to procure it any measure of acceptance, its sanction must have been recognised as something more than ordinary. It has been already remarked that some of the provisions of the Mosaic law were of such a character that it is not conceivable that they should have been adopted by the nation, unless they had been established during the abode in the wilderness, but it is no less evident that neither those nor many of its other ordinances, would have been accepted there or any where else unless enjoined by adequate authority. Yet this system in its letter at least, obtained such a hold over the Israelitish nation, and has ever since so influenced the popular character, as clearly shows that as well itself as the authority which established it could have been no ordinary power.

In corroboration of this various facts may be appealed to, all evincing the remarkable working of the legislation of Moses, which itself formed the most important and permanent element in his mission. This is, moreover, a particular with regard to which there is even less room than in any of his other acts, for rationalistic explanations.

First, the preservation of the Israelites as a community in the land of Canaan, separate and distinct from the other nations of the earth, is a fact which, perhaps more than any other, indicates the nature of the authority exerted by the law. If, in the continuance of the people in the wilderness, Ewald¹ discerns the personal influence of Moses, how much more is his legislative influence seen in the preservation of the people in Canaan under the peculiar economy which he founded. That a feeble and incon-

¹ Geschichte, ii. 256.

siderable community, often torn asunder by internal dissensions, and still further reduced by the utter subversion of one of the kingdoms into which it was eventually divided, and by the seventy years exile of the other, should continue to live though surrounded by every influence hostile to its existence, and not only politically survive some of the oldest and most powerful of its enemies, but exert an influence on surrounding nations, and eventually on the world at large, greater than any ever exercised by the most skilful in arts or arms, are certainly remarkable phenomena, however they may be explained. Great, indeed, has been the influence of the civilization and science of Greece and Rome on the modern world, but this sinks into insignificance compared with the ennobling influences which have emanated from Judæa and the Hebrew race.

The history of Israel from the time of their settlement in Canaan under their great leader Joshua, until the destruction of the second Temple and their last dispersion, presents many vicissitudes and reverses naturally fitted to obliterate all traces of a nationality, however powerful and firmly consolidated the original constitution might have been, and not as in this case a system which, when first confronted with such rude trials, was almost new, and had not yet taken firm hold of the popular mind. The present limits will, of course, only allow the most cursory allusion to a few of the more remarkable incidents of that most eventful history. To do anything like justice to the subject, would require a very comprehensive inquiry not only into the history of the Israelites themselves, but also of the other nations with whom they came more immediately into contact, in relations either of amity or of war, so as to determine the various influences, social, political, and religious, to which the covenant people were exposed, and which were directly antagonistic to the purposes of their constitution and polity. Limiting the following observations to a few of the more prominent points chiefly of a political nature, the first thing noticeable is the long continued depression of the Israelites, from the death of Joshua until the establishment of the monarchy, when under David they were suddenly raised to the highest position to which they ever attained.

It is twice intimated, in the records of that period, (Josh. xxiv. 31 ; Judg. ii. 7), that the people served the Lord during

the lifetime of Joshua and of the elders who survived him, and who had witnessed the mighty acts of the Lord towards Israel in the wilderness and on the invasion of the land. The jealousy with which, at this time, they regarded any apparent infringement of the theocratic ordinances is very apparent from the alarm caused by the erection of the altar at Jordan by the tribes who were returning to their home on the other side, and the consequences to which it would unquestionably have led had its purpose not been satisfactorily explained (Josh. xxii). A different spirit, however, soon manifested itself in the succeeding generation. There was a very marked apostasy from the worship of Jehovah. The burden of the book of Judges is: "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord," (chap. ii. 11; iv. 1; vi. 1); and, indeed, their history, for a very long period, may be summed up in these terms: the people fall into idolatry; they are oppressed by some foreign power, the Moabites, Philistines, Ammonites, or other neighbouring tribe; on their repentance they are delivered by a Judge, after whose death they relapse into idolatry. This state of matters, more or less, continued for about 450 years (Acts xiii. 20)—a period which may be said to be almost one continued struggle for existence, and which, accordingly, considering all the circumstances of the case, must have tested to the utmost the power and vitality of the nation and its economy.

The events of this period show very clearly the various adverse influences with which the law had to contend, and which, partly originating in the perversity of the people themselves, were no doubt largely increased by the new relations into which they were suddenly brought after their long seclusion in the wilderness. Times of foreign oppression and internal disorder must have proved exceedingly unfavourable to the exercise and authority of the theocratic system. Such was the bent of the popular will, and the tendency to conform to the practices of the surrounding heathen nations, that no legal restraints availed to prevent idolatry. To such an extent, indeed, does the law appear to have been in abeyance during the time of the Judges, that rationalistic writers, as Vater, De Wette, Von Bohlen, and others, would infer from this circumstance that it had yet no existence. This, however, is a conclusion by no means warranted by the facts of the case as

presented even at that time, and which clearly show that the law really existed,¹ however little its power may have been felt. But, then, it is objected that this very admission is unfavourable to the character of the law, inasmuch as the state of disorganization and distraction for which the national constitution and polity must be held largely responsible, instead of evincing the success of the Mosaic legislation, affords proof only to the contrary. Thus Vatke² remarks: "The principle of the Old Testament has evinced its weakness, since it could not overpower the forces opposed to it in the course of many centuries."

To objections such as these, which were scarcely to be expected from any one who considered man's moral agency with its character as attested by general experience, it may be replied—1. That if they prove anything at all, it is the strong opposition between the spirit of the law, and the disposition of the people to whom it was addressed, and which was manifested from the time of its promulgation. The fundamental principle of the law, evinced nowhere more clearly than in its ritual, was the necessity of holiness, a condition with regard to which heathenism did not concern itself, but on the contrary afforded all manner of indulgence to the worshippers. Can it therefore be deemed strange that a people such as the Israelites proved to be from the time of their leaving Egypt, should, whenever circumstances permitted, manifest a disposition to adopt a religion more in accordance with their own carnal propensities than the theocratic system? It was evidently something of this kind which suggested itself to Joshua when, in his last address to the assembled tribes, he stated: "Ye cannot serve the Lord; for he is a holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions, nor your sins" (Josh. xxiv. 19). 2. Nor is it to be overlooked, that notwithstanding the long depression of the theocratic principles, they at length asserted their ascendancy. The temporary check of a principle is no evidence of its inherent weakness; otherwise, not only the Mosaic law, but the Gospel itself, would be alike condemned as inefficient. It is from viewing the working of a

¹ See above, pp. 234-438.

² Religion d. alten Testaments, p. 260. Comp. Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, E. T. ii. 4-10.

moral power of this kind throughout its whole course, and not at any partial stage, that its character is to be estimated ; and so the Davidic reign, which succeeded the disorder, which with its accompanying oppressions had so long endured, afforded most unequivocal testimony to the vitality and vigour of the law, which must have been silently preparing the nation for the change which thus so suddenly ensued.

Meanwhile, however, other forces were in operation, the result of which was, the disruption of the Hebrew Empire. A jealousy on the part of Ephraim of the supremacy exercised by Judah, and which had been long gathering strength, broke out, on the death of Solomon, into open revolt, in which the Ten northern tribes took part. The new kingdom thus erected possessed few elements of stability. The movement itself was conceived in an anti-theocratic spirit, and the policy adopted for continuing the revolt, and preventing the people's return to their allegiance to the house of David, was to subvert, as much as possible, the Mosaic institutions, the consequence of which was, that the priests, and many other adherents of the law, sought refuge in the kingdom of Judah. The political changes which followed may be at once inferred from the fact, that eight dynasties, each ushered in by a revolution, occupied in rapid succession the throne of the new kingdom. The land was invaded by three or four successive kings of Assyria, imposing tribute on the conquered, or conveying them into captivity by repeated deportations, with the last of which terminated the national existence of the Ten Tribes, 254 years after the separation, and 135 years before the fall of the kingdom of Judah and removal to Babylon.¹ The disruption of the nation under Rehoboam, no doubt, in a political aspect, greatly weakened it ; but it may be questioned whether it hastened, to any great extent, its ultimate downfall. Judah was far inferior, both in power and population, to the sister kingdom,² but it

¹ See Smith's Dict. of Bible, Art. *Israel, Kingdom of*, i. 898.

² "The whole area of Palestine was nearly equal to that of the kingdom of Holland (13,610 sq. m.); or rather more than that of the six northern counties of England (13,136 sq. m.) The kingdom of Judah was rather less than

Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland (3683 sq. m., with 752,852 population in 1851): the kingdom of Israel was very nearly as large as Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland (9453 sq. m., with 4,023,713 population in 1851)."—Smith's Dict. *Ibid.*, p. 897.

was by its limited area only brought more completely under the theocratic influences, now largely strengthened as they must have been by the accessions of the priests, and others referred to, from among the Ten Tribes. It might, indeed, easily be made to appear that the revolt—an occurrence so injurious to merely political interests, only promoted the purposes of the theocratic constitution.

A point, however, which calls for notice here, is the influence of the Mosaic law on the kingdom of Judah, notwithstanding the obstacles which it encountered during the reign of several wicked kings. Looking merely to second causes, there is ample room to conclude that it was in a great measure through adherence to the conserving principles of the theocracy that the weaker kingdom resisted for a much longer period those inimical forces, before which the more potent sunk to a condition from which there was never even the semblance of a restoration, although individuals may have returned with Judah and Benjamin.¹ It certainly must have been greatly owing to the Mosaic ordinances that there had been imparted to the people carried into Babylon that coherency through which they were fitted for being replanted, after an exile of 70 years, upon their own soil, and renewing once more their old worship and constitution. The contrast thus presented between the subjects of the two deportations is exceedingly striking, and yet is only in accordance with what might be anticipated from the previous course of things. In the earlier case, a people who, for 250 years, had practised idolatry, and had cast aside the checks which the law imposed on their natural inclinations, and who were habituated to political changes, and the absence of a hereditary king, would, when torn from their native land, it is easy to perceive, be soon assimilated to the heathen, among whom they were located,²—a circumstance which would, unquestionably, preclude such a restoration as resulted from the decree of Cyrus.

Besides the Jews who returned home, there were others, and in far greater numbers, who remained in Babylon, and the other great centres of dispersion, and the fortunes of whom have also an important bearing on the present subject. Though far

¹ Prideaux, *Connexion*, i. 128. Lond. 1845.

² See Smith's *Dict. of Bible, Art. Captivities*, i. 276.

distant from Jerusalem, "the dispersion," as they were termed, kept up a very intimate connexion with it. The Temple was everywhere the acknowledged centre of Judaism; and the faithful Jew, wherever resident, contributed the statutory half-shekel towards its maintenance, and frequently visited Jerusalem on the celebration of the great festivals.¹ These were facts which showed that the theocratic principles had, in one aspect at least, so pervaded the Israelitish people, had so isolated them in their views and feelings, from the Gentiles, that faith, and no longer mere political or geographical limits and relations, constituted the great national bond. This allowed of unlimited expansion, without disruption of the national ties; and accordingly the Hebrew race were spreading in every direction, and multiplying so largely, that at the Christian era there was scarcely a province of the Roman Empire not inhabited by them.² The narrow confines of Judæa had thus given birth to a population which could never have been reared on its own soil, and yet so united by the ties of religion and other associations that they regarded it as their only home.

The reader of ancient history need not be reminded of the many and great revolutions which occurred among other nations during the protracted period of Israelitish history now glanced at, and which have resulted in the extinction, so far as the determining marks of race are concerned, of many and most powerful communities, with other social and political changes of a very remarkable character.

During the earlier part of that period, what was afterwards the great Assyrian empire, was a very inconsiderable power: its expeditions seldom extended beyond the Euphrates, and, at the utmost, scarcely farther than Upper Syria; nor was it until sometime subsequent to the separation of the kingdoms that an Assyrian army appeared in Lower Syria and Palestine. The Hebrew empire, under David, was itself one of the earliest of the great monarchies. Though not so extensive as those which afterwards arose in Western Asia, it is, nevertheless, held by competent authorities to have equalled any then known in the Eastern world.³ It was not until sometime after its dis-

¹ See Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.*, E. T. i.
42.

² Strabo, *Lib.* xiv. 2.

³ Rawlinson, *Bampton Lecture*, p. 89

memberment that the world-renowned Empires attained to pre-eminence, and in some cases had any existence at all.

Of the important occurrences of the period which elapsed, from the separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the end of the Babylonian captivity, embracing about four centuries, there were several which powerfully affected, if they have not left a permanent impression on, the history and destinies, not merely of particular nations, but of the human race at large. This period comprised—to adopt the language of Rawlinson—"the great development, the decadence, and the fall of Assyria—the sudden growth of Media and Babylon—the Egyptian revival under the Psammetichi—the most glorious time of the Phœnician cities—the rise of Sparta and Athens to pre-eminence in Greece—the foundation of Carthage and of Rome—and the spread of civilization by means of the Greek and Phœnician colonies, from the Palus Mæotis to the Pillars of Hercules."¹ And yet, with the exception of Rome, all the other powers here mentioned had almost disappeared; some of them, indeed, had completely passed away before the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the second great stage of the Jewish history. As the Assyrian Empire succumbed to the rising power of Babylon, so this again fell before the Medo-Persian dominion, which procured the deliverance of the Hebrew captives; while this power itself was at length subverted by the Grecian conquests, which, in their turn, were broken up by the Romans, the last great masters of the world, but whose dominion also has long since vanished.

Of some of these dominating powers there existed, even before the Christian era, little better than the names, or some doubtful lists of kings and dynasties preserved in certain historical fragments saved from the ravages of time; and this continued to be the state of matters until recent explorers brought to light monuments long buried in the great mounds,² which meet the eye of the traveller in the wide Mesopotamian plains, and which may be truly denominated the sepulchral resting-place of great and renowned empires. Even Rome

¹ Rawlinson, Bampton Lect., p. 114.

² Layard: "Those of whose works they are the remains, unlike the Roman and the Greek, have left no visible traces

of their civilization, or of their arts: their influence has long since passed away." — *Nineveh and its Remains*, i. 6.

herself, instrumental in the overthrow of the last remnant of Israel's political existence, has, as already remarked, long since passed away from the living world. That power, which, for a time, had given law and political life to the nations, has followed in the wake of its predecessors. The old associations of empire, and of the dominion of the Cæsars, have, it would seem at this moment, but little efficacy in restoring the people of Rome and Italy, long crushed by oppression and misgovernment, to a right spirit and to united counsels, so necessary to the recovery of their liberty, and the consolidating it when acquired.

These and other facts clearly exhibited in the history of the Israelitish people are certainly of more than ordinary character. There is nothing comparable with them in the case of any other nation. Natural causes were utterly inadequate for the production of such results; and there is no alternative but to ascribe them to a divine Agency and special Providence. The whole history of the Israelites shows that miracles did not cease with the Exodus, or even with the settlement of the people in Palestine; but that the forces, so to speak, then put in operation, continued to be felt throughout the future of the nation; or if not strictly miraculous in the ordinary acceptation of the term as appealing to the external senses, the undying energy displayed even in circumstances apparently the most unpromising, must have been miraculously excited and sustained.

It were indeed a waste of words to notice at any length, and far more to controvert the explanations given of the ground of that remarkable authority which Moses thus exercised, first personally, and ever since as a legislator, by those who can see in it nothing of the supernatural. The allegation, for instance, that the appearances which accompanied the giving of the law were only the usual meteoric phenomena of the Sinaitic regions where thunder-storms are frequent, and that Moses availed himself of the circumstance to impress with awe a people who had been unaccustomed to such sights in Egypt,¹ surely needs no refutation. Nor is the case different when Ewald² represents the pillar of fire and of cloud which

¹ Bauer, *Hebr. Mythol.*, i. 296.

² *Geschichte*, ii. 284. Knobel takes it to have been a fire such as was an-

ciently carried before armies on nocturnal marches. *Die Bücher Ex. u. Lev.*, p. 134.

preceded the people on their march, as only the varied appearance of the fire of the altar, as witnessed in the night or day time. And these matters, partially received at the time, and afterwards universally, when magnified by tradition, as tokens of the divine presence, serve, in the view of Ewald, to account for the authority exercised by Moses, and of the confidence reposed in him, and accordingly, to discredit the Biblical record, by entirely dispensing with the miraculous. Such suppositions require no remark, though they belong to what has been termed "the most recent and the most critical investigation of this history."¹ The only credible and reasonable explanation is that given in the history itself. It has been well remarked: "The whole genius of their institutions was distinctive, separative, incapable of compromise, impatient of amalgamation; so distinctive, so peculiar, that the wonderful vitality of Hebraism in after times can only be explained on the hypothesis that men's devotion to it had been supernaturally produced, and ever since the childhood of the nation had been growing upwards with their growth."²

But further, the influences adverted to extend far beyond the limits of Israel's national existence.

In the mere loss of a political standing they have only shared the common fate of nations, and the changes incident to all mundane societies and constitutions, though in their case the desolation of their city, and their expulsion from their native soil, were more complete, perhaps, than in any other. They were deprived, not merely of their independence, but also of their country; whilst, for many long centuries, they had to endure every species of opprobrium and oppression in the countries whither they were driven. Yet, even in their long continued exile and desolation, there are remarkable circumstances which distinguish the Israelites from all other people.

First, as regards their physical characteristics, whereby they can be at once identified as the seed of Abraham. Modern nations—the Egyptians for instance—present the greatest dissimilarity to their predecessors of the early history. Indeed,

¹ Stanley, Sinai and Pal., p. 24.

² Hardwick, Christ and other Masters, Pt. iv., p. 98. Camb., 1859.

but for the fact that they inhabit the same country, the Egyptians of the present day may be said to have little or no relation to the subjects of the ancient Pharaohs.¹ Not so, however, the Jews, notwithstanding that they have, throughout the greater part of their history, been subjected to influences more varied, and destructive of all that conduces to nationality than any other people. For more than eighteen centuries they have been without a home altogether, and are in every sense wanderers and fugitives in the earth. The other ancient stocks have almost entirely disappeared; they have been mixed up or amalgamated with other races, until there is the utmost difficulty in tracing their place on the ethnological chart; and in most instances, especially where there has been less of this admixture with other tribes, there is a marked deterioration of the physical character. All this, however, is reversed in the case of the Jews. "Though intermarrying with no Gentile tribe or nation, they have not degenerated in form, or intellect, or vigour. They are no worn-out race, diseased and puny; though the oldest extant, they give out no sign of age or decay. The blood of the patriarchs still flows in their veins, healthy and uncorrupted. Poor as they seem sometimes, as you see them passing through the cities of the Gentile, with the dark ringlet falling over their thin wan cheek, you would know them in Alexandria, or Cairo, or Jerusalem, amid a hundred others,—if not by their step and sinew, at least by their forehead and their eye."²

To this may be added the fact, that instead of diminishing in numbers, the Jewish population, notwithstanding the many proscriptions and persecutions, to which they had long been subjected, has been ever increasing. The result, manifested in the Pharaonic servitude, that the more they were oppressed the more rapidly they multiplied, would indeed seem to have been frequently verified in their history. It may be difficult to estimate their present numbers with any accuracy, but there

¹ See Smyth, *Unity of the Human Races*, p. 362. Edin. 1851. Of the Copts Lepsius remarks: "These are the Epigoni, the most genuine, unmixed descendants of the old Pharaonic nation that once conquered Asia and Ethiopia, and led its prisoners from the north and

south into the great hall of Karnak, before Ammon; in whose wisdom Moses was educated, and with whose priesthood the Greek sages went to school." — *Letters from Egypt*, p. 270.

² Bonar, *The Land of Promise*, p. 19. Lond. 1858.

can be no question that, could a census be taken, it would far exceed that of any former period of their history. "They are spread abroad," it has been remarked, "like a net, throughout all the countries possessed by white men, and even to a short distance beyond, in the instances of Abyssinia and India."¹ Ever on the increase, they are ever scattered; born in every country and clime, yet denizens of none; for they are bound by very feeble associations to the lands of their birth.

The barriers which thus separate the seed of Abraham from the Gentiles are essentially those which Moses erected in his law more than three thousand years ago; and what is more remarkable, they are, in various respects, far stronger to-day, and, indeed, ever since the restoration from the Babylonish captivity, than they were when first set up and watched over by the lawgiver himself, or the most theocratically disposed of the Hebrew monarchs. The earlier history of Israel may be characterised as almost one continued conflict with the law; a violation of its Sabbaths, and its various precepts against idolatry, with other practices and abominations of heathenism, into which they would seem to have irresistibly rushed, in defiance of all warnings, and of the chastisements with which, from time to time, they were visited. The disposition of the covenant people during that period to imitate the heathen, and conform to their ways, was just as marked as latterly has been the direct converse of this. The opposition between the precept of the law and the practice of the people, with respect to this and various other points, was one of long continuance, and formed the ground of numerous complaints in the Psalms and in the writings of the Prophets; but eventually it disappeared, so far as the outward form is concerned. Then, again, those bonds of union provided in the law are no less powerful in connecting together the numerous and widely dispersed members of the Jewish race than the principles referred to, for producing external separation, so that there has been formed around them, as it were, a *cordon*, unbroken by all the changes, reverses, and sickening disappointments, which they have so long endured, and maintained chiefly by a religion which, in its ritual, can be only very partially practised, and from which very much of the spirit or living principle has undoubtedly eva-

¹ Pickering, *The Races of Man*, p. 241. Lond. 1850.

porated, leaving behind it little better than mere empty forms, ill-fitted as they must be, to sustain faith or animate hope in any circumstances, more especially those with which this people have been long and painfully familiar. Yet, such is the tenacity with which they cling to the patriarchal promises, and the principles embodied in their law, that it has served as the chief instrument, under Providence, in continuing to them their very peculiar existence in the world. Were there nothing further than this, it would suffice to prove the success of the Mosaic mission and the efficacy of his system, in securing such a protracted life for the people whom he conducted out of Egypt.

No reference has been made in the course of the preceding observations, either to the accordance which these facts, in Israel's strange history, present, with various statements in their own prophetic Scriptures, and, indeed, in the Pentateuch itself, preintimating the destiny which has thus awaited them, or to the various purposes which, it clearly appears, Providence was in this way carrying out. An examination of these points would, undoubtedly, contribute largely to confirm the present argument; but the former of these subjects is by far of too extensive a character to be even touched upon here, while the consideration of the latter can be proceeded with more advantageously at a subsequent stage of this work. Besides, it was deemed desirable, from the very outset of the argument adopted in the present chapter, to take the very lowest ground, and rest it on bare historical facts, with regard to the character of which there can be no controversy, and some of which are not at all dependent on the testimony of others, but are objects of daily observation. Wherever, indeed, a Jew is met on the streets or exchanges of our cities, he may be said to present in his person all the evidence needed to substantiate the truth of the Mosaic history and the Divine character of the law. There is here, and in the other facts adverted to, a new, and in some respects a superior, proof, to that which Moses presented to his brethren in Egypt, when he intimated to them that the God of their fathers had sent him to deliver them from the bondage under which they groaned, and put them into possession of the promised land; and the effect of which message was, that "The people believed:

and when they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped."

In the continued preservation, then, of this remarkable people among the nations through which they have been dispersed, apart entirely from every other consideration, for the whole case might be safely rested here, there is additional and still more astonishing proof of the divine character of the Mosaic mission, and of the polity by which a nation has been so moulded that even its scattered members have acquired such an individuality as to distinguish them to this day in every country and clime from those with whom they associate but do not mingle. This is a continued miracle, nowise inferior to any recorded in their Scriptures, and with this difference in its favour, that it is not of a transitory character, but has endured amid the revolutions of centuries, the rise and fall of empires, and the entire extirpation of more numerous and powerful nationalities; and has thus submitted to every test which time may discover, or which scepticism may apply with a view to determine its character and reality. No other legislation ever produced such results, and the conclusion is therefore irresistible, that in this peculiar instance, and through the Mosaic mission, there was, as already remarked, more than human authority brought to bear on the Israelitish people in fitting them for the place they were evidently designed to occupy in the destiny of nations, and which the whole course of history has unmistakably shown they did occupy, contrary to ordinary probabilities, and also in a great measure to their own cherished notions.

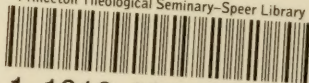
Accepting the miraculous character of the transactions so represented in the Pentateuch, and the divine origin of the Israelitish law and polity, and consequently of the authentic record of that legislation, the whole becomes simple and intelligible, because an adequate cause is thus assigned to effects which on any other supposition are unaccountable and incredible. But the full bearing of this argument can only be seen, and the necessity of admitting the divine authority of the Pentateuch, when the character of that record itself is examined, and when its various provisions are found to be

adapted for carrying out the purposes contemplated therein, with respect to the Israelites and involved in the mission of Moses, in a way which far transcends the resources of human wisdom or invention. This, accordingly, will form the subject of the following book.

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